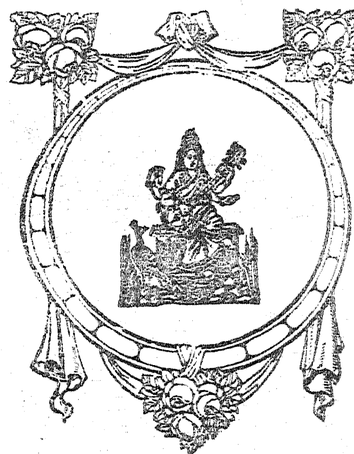
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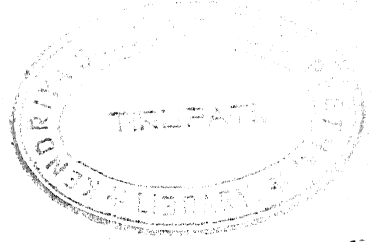
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DRAVIDIC FORMS FOR 'BETEL-LEAF.'

BY

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.,

Maharaja's College, Ernakulam.

The leaf of the *betel* (*Chavica betle* or *Piper betle* in botanical parlance) is used as a masticatory all over South Asia (India, Ceylon, Indo-China and the islands of the Eastern Archipelago generally). It is found to thrive in a wild state in Java, and presumably therefore in the opinion of botanists it was originally a native of the Eastern Archipelago. Yet throughout India the use of the betel-leaf as a masticatory in conjuction with areca-nut and *cunnam* has become a part of social amenities and even attained a certain degree of importance in Hindu religious ceremonies. These facts led Prof. Przyluski of Paris to inquire into the etymology of the Indo-Aryan term *tāmbūl.* As a result of close investigation, he has shown that this word which has no cognates in Indo-European or Indo-Iranian, is a loan-word from the word-stock of the Austric peoples with whom the Indo-Aryans came in contact on the mainland of India, and among whom the betel-leaf was already a popular favourite as a masticatory ingredient. According to Prof. Przyluski, *tāmbūl* in Indo-Aryan is a form borrowed with slight modifications, from an Austric compound word formed of the prefix *tam* and the base *b(a)lu.* The radical by itself is found in modified shapes used with the meaning 'betel' even to-day in many of the Austric dialects.

The other Indo-Aryan form *pān* (used in Hindi, Bengali, etc.) is structurally native in Indo-Aryan, being derivable from *parṇa* (leaf); but its present semantic content, restricted to the idea of betel-leaf is, according to Prof. S. K. Chatterjee, a prossemic development in Indo-Aryan, obviously induced by the south Asiatic custom of using the betel-leaf as a masticatory.

Prof. Chatterjee has also shown (*Vide* "Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian", page 18 ; and "Bhāṣatatver Bhūmikā," page 18) that Bengali *bārui* and *bāroj* [the former of which occurs as

bārayī-paḍa (the name of village) in a thirteenth century copper-plate grant] contain the base *bar* which is probably a variant of the Austric radical *bal* (betel). Old Bengali *tābol* and modern Bengali *tamli* have of course to be considered as being derived from the common Indo-Aryan borrowing.

The use of the betel-leaf in Dravidian India is as universal as in Indo-Aryan India. Among the 'higher' castes it has always had a semi-religious importance and everywhere it denotes 'maṅgala,' 'kalyāṇa' and good-will generally. Except among the westernised English-educated classes, the use of the betel-leaf has even to-day a great importance in ordinary social life. Among the masses (to whichever religious creed they may belong) it answers to the same purpose that is fulfilled by tea in China. The following phrases bearing ecsemic significations are illustrative of the importance attached to the use of betel in South India :—

Tamil வெற்றிலை வைத்தல் (*vettrilai-vaittal* = the offer of betel-leaf) signifies generally the offering of an auspicious welcome for a marriage party *cf.* Sanskrit *niścaya-tāmbūlam.*

Malayāḷam *vettila koḍukkuga* means in certain contexts 'to form a friendship.'

Malayāḷam *vettila kīṛippikkuga* signifies similarly in some contexts 'to cause a rupture of unity or friendly relations.'

Tulu *baccira tinpini* means 'to make peace'.

The extraordinary importance attached to the betel-leaf all over Dravidian India raises the question whether the Dravidian words for 'betel' were native in Dravidian or borrowings as in Indo-Aryan. Special signifiance attaches to this question in view of the postulate recently made by Prof. Przyluski and others that the Dravidians and the Austrics might have lived in close contact for large periods of time in pre-Aryan India. It is not only possible but even probable that the intimate contact between the Dravidians and the Austrics on the mainland of India resulted in the exchange or words from one language-group to the other. I have already tried to show elsewhere that some kind of relationship may have existed between the Dravidic forms for 'cheek', 'pomegranate,' etc. and Austric words denoting these ideas. It is not possible in *all* cases of such Dravido-Austric word-correspondences, to determine which group is the lender and which the borrower; but with the materials at our disposal

and with the criteria (limited as they are) available for us, it is possible (and necessary too) to outline perspectives which may be useful for further research.

While in the case of word-correspondences between Austric and Indo-Aryan a number of definite tests[1] could be applied in order to demonstrate the foreign origin of Indo-Aryan borrowings, all these tests are not available for Dravidian. In these Dravido-Austric parallelisms, therefore, we have to make what use we can of the tests available for us and indicate how far the Dravidian forms when confronted with ancient Dr. bases may have been native and whether at all a structural and semantic connection could be postulated between the Dravidian forms on the one hand and the Austric forms on the other, on the basis of collateral considerations such as historical possibilities and linguistic analysis. The question of the lender and the borrower might in any case still remain open in a large number of instances owing to our imperfect knowledge of the conditions in which Dravido-Austric contacts may have developed.

The object of this article is only to envisage the problem raised by Dr. words for 'betel-leaf' and to consider, by the application of such tests as are available for us, if the Dravidian words denoting 'betel' are native or not in Dr.

Dr. forms for betel.

The following are the forms used for 'betel-leaf' in the different Dravidian dialects :—

(1) The tests applicable in the case of Indo-Aryan are the following:—

(*a*) If the words under reference showing structural and semantic identity with Austric forms have no cognates in Indo-European and Indo-Iranian, the question of borrowing definitely crops up. (*b*) If, further, the ideas denoted by the IA words are unique features of the *habitat* of the Austric peoples, additional strength is afforded to the theory of borrowing. (*c*) If still further it could be shown by an analysis of Austric forms that the IA words under reference correspond to the secondary or derivative forms of Austric (as in the case of IA *tāmbūlam*, as Prof. Przyluski has shown), the question of IA words being borrowings from Austric becomes a likelihood.

So far as Dravidian is concerned the tests (*a*) and (*b*) are practically not available. We have also to remember that the *habitat*, customs, etc. of the Austric-speaking peoples and the Dravidians might have shared common features in a very ancient past.

Tamil : *vettrilai*, colloquial *vettilai, veḷḷilai, mellilai, tirayal, tāmbūlam.*

Malayāḷam : *vettila, tāmbūlam, tambaḷam.*
Kannaḍa : *beḷudile, tāmbūlam.*
Tuḷu: *baccira, tāmbūla*
Telugu: *tamalapāku, tāmbūla*
Gōṇḍi: *bīr-āki*
Kuvi: *tāmla*
Kurukh: *pān*

Tāmbūlam and *pān* among the above are borrowings from Indo-Aryan. Telugu *tamalapāku* is a compound of *tamala* (a modified adaptation through Prākṛt of Sanskrit *tāmbūla*) and *pāku* which is probably native Dravidian.

Tamil *veḷ-ḷ-ilai* (white or shining leaf) and *mel-l-ilai* (tender leaf—*mel* is probably a tadbhava from Sanskrit *mṛdu*) are characteristically expressive terms, descriptive of certain conspicuous features of the leaf. Kannaḍa *biḷudile* should be allied to Tamil *veḷḷilai*. Old Tamil *tirayal* is another expressive native word for 'betel' which apparently refers (as its base *tir* to 'turn' implies) to the irregularly climbing nature of the plant. *Cf.* in this connection the old Tamil word *tiraṅgal* signifying 'pepper-vine'.

All the other words given above appear to be related. They are all compounds constituted of a second component meaning 'leaf' and a first constituent meaning 'betel'. All these exist only as compound forms; we have to note that the first component by itself does not exist separately with the signification 'betel'.

Phonetic aspects of the first component.

The phonetic variations in the structure of the first components *vettr-, vett-, bacc,* etc., are all characteristically Dravidian.

Old Tamil *ttr* (with the alveolar *tt*) appears in the modern colloquial as dental *tt* as a general rule. *Cf. kāttru, kāttu* (wind), etc.

Old Tamil *ttr* regularly appears as alveolar *tt* (after dropping *r*) in Malayāḷam.

-cc- of Tuḷu is the palatalised resultant of the original consonant group *tt*. cf. Tuḷu *bacc-* (to be dried) with Tamil *vattru* with the same meaning.

Initial *v-* of Tamil corresponds generally to *b-* of Kannaḍa and Tuḷu.

The second component.

So far as the second components meaning 'leaf' are concerned, all of them except *-āki* in the Gōṇḍi form are derived from a common base. Tamil *ilai* shows the characteristic Tamil ending *-ai* to which Kannaḍa *-e* and Tuḷu *-æ* correspond. *r-* of Tuḷu *iræ* corresponds to *-l-* of other southern deatects, as in Tuḷu *kāru* (leg) beside Tamil-Kannaḍa *kāl* (leg), Tuḷu *paru* (teeth) beside Tamil-Kannaḍa *pallu* (tooth), etc.

In Gōṇḍi *bīr-āki*, the first component appears to be allied to Santāli *bīr* (jungle). So far as the second component is concerned, it is certainly native Dr., since we have Kui *āku*, (leaf), Malayāḷam *aka*, Kannaḍa *age*, Tuḷu *agæ*, Telugu *āku*, Kurukh *akhuā* (sprout, shoot).

If we were to seek for the derivation of *āku*, *āki* in Dravidian itself, it may be traced to *ag-* (to grow) found in Kannaḍa and related to Dravidian *āg* (to be produced) f. etc.

There is little doubt that the first and the second constituents of

vettrilai
baccirœ
vettilai

are related. So far as the second constituent is concerned, we have seen already that it is native Dravidian.

The question we have next to take up is whether the base on which the first components have been formed is native Dravidian or not. We shall merely indicate here certain perspectives along which explanations may be sought for. Preliminarily, we may note here the significant fact that there is no word in Dravidian allied to the first constituent cf *vettrilai*, etc., and existing in an uncompounded state, with the meaning, 'betel'. We shall, therefore, have to reconstruct the probable base on which *vettr-*, *bacc-* etc. may have been formed, and then on the one hand examine the structural and semantic affinities of this base to other Dravidian bases, and on the other its probable relationship to Austric forms.

Reconstruction of the probable Dr. base.

(i) It is a characteristic phenomenon of Tamil phonology that alveolar or 'cerebral' *ṟ* appears, in accented positions and under the assimilative influence of other sounds, as *ttr* (*tt* being

alveolar). *ttr*, therefore, of *vettr-* may be traced to a base with a final alveolar *r* or cerebral *ṛ*. As for the initial sound, opinions differ as to whether *v* or *b* is original, though I myself am inclined to regard *v* as the original. The included vowel appears as *-e-* in Tamil, and as *-a-* in Tuḷu. Without entering for the present into the question as to what the original character of the vowel may have been, we may here content ourselves with recognising that $v\overset{a}{\underset{e}{-}}r$ or $b\overset{a}{\underset{e}{-}}r$ reveals itself as the base.

(ii) Alternatively, the base may be sought for along a different path also. *ttr* (with the long alveolar *tt*) of Tamil appears usually as the assimilative resultant of $l+t$ also, as in *vittru*, the past tense base formed the *vil* (to sell) and the past affix *tu*. If we consider *ttr* of *vettrilai* to have been produced thus, the base would emerge as $v\overset{a}{\underset{e}{-}}l$ or $b\overset{a}{\underset{e}{-}}l$.

Resemblance of this base to Austric forms.

The Austric forms given by Prof. Przyluski in his lists are the following:

balu	*mluv*	Basic type *balu* or *malu*.
bolou	*malua*	
blu	*melu*	
plu	*mlu*	

Now, whichever of the two reconstructed Dr. base-groups : $v\overset{a}{\underset{e}{-}}r$, $b\overset{a}{\underset{e}{-}}r$ or $v\overset{a}{\underset{e}{-}}l$, $b\overset{a}{\underset{e}{-}}l$ may have been the real basis on which the Dravidian words have been formed, a comparison of these bases and the Austric forms does reveal a certain structural correspondence between the initial bilabials and the liquids.

Is this resemblance fortuitous? An intimate structural parallelism such as is evident here, can be affirmed to be accidental, only when we are in a position to establish that the Austric base on the one hand and the Dravidian base on the other could be traced on the one side and on the other to more elementary radicals which have no relationship, either structural or semantic, to each other. In the absence of such conclusive proof, the question of relationship between the Austric and the Dravidian forms cannot be summarily dismissed as being entirely unlikely.

The Austric radical.

Is it possible to trace the bases on the one side and on the other to more elementary radicals by discussing affiliations? Prof. Przyluski has tried to connect the type *b(ə)lu* or *m(ə)lu* with the Austric verbal root *mul, mua,* 'to roll up' (*Vide* "Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian," page 18), but one does not feel that his attempt has been adequate or conclusive on the semantic side

Are the bases of the Dravidian forms native?

We shall take up the group : $v\overset{a}{\underset{e}{-}}r$, $b\overset{a}{\underset{e}{-}}r$ first. Is it possible to relate these to any other known native Dravidian base?

(*a*) Gundert in his Dictionary explains *vettrilai* as being composed of *veṛ* (mere) and *ilai* (leaf). Phonetically, this explanation is quite satisfactory, since the cerebral *ṛ* can give rise to *ttr* in Tamil and since other similar formations like Tamil *vettrurai* (mere word), and Mal. *vettan* (poor man) etc. in which *veṛ* with the meaning 'devoid of', 'mere' etc. do exist. It is the semantic derivation that creates difficulty. Why should the betel-leaf have been considered as the 'mere leaf'? It may of course have been considered 'the leaf *par excellence*' in view of its being a universal favourite as the essential component of the people's masticatory; and the ancient Dravidians—who, it may be observed here, denominated plants through very suggestive and expressive names (vide below) may have associated with this favourite leaf a kind of affective feeling of admiration and called it the 'mere leaf'. Nevertheless, Gundert's suggestion strikes us as rather naive and unconvincing.

(*b*) Another possible suggestion is that the base *ver* may be connected with *vēr* (root).[1] *vēr-ilai* would then suggest the

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1. That *vēr* appears to have been associated conspicuously with the naming of plants will be clear from the following Tamil names of plants :—

vēr-kadalai or 'root-gram' 'ground-nut' which term appropriately describes the way in which the fruits bury themselves like roots under the ground.

vetti-vēr or *viḻal-vēr*, 'Andropogan muricatum' has roots valued for its stimulant properties.

Ginger or 'Zingiber officianalis' has, besides the usual name *inji* also an expressive term *vēr-kombu* (sprout of root) to denote it. The rhizomes of ginger are suggestively described by this term.

[redacted]

scandent nature of the plant itself and the appearance of the leaves at the nodes from which roots also appear. Possibly the climbing stem may also have been mistaken for a variety of root (as in the case of the 'ground-nut' fruit called *vēr-kaḍalai*).[1]

Semantically, therefore, it is possible to connect *vēr* meaning 'root' with *vettrilai*.

But there exist difficulties on the phonetic or structural side. In the first place, it may be observed that the production of *ttr* in genitival contexts in Tamil is associated[2] more with *ṟ* than with *r* which is the final sound in the modern form *vēr* (root). It may, however, be said in answer to this objection that post-dental and alveolar *r*[3] may have alternated with cerebral *ṟ* (as in Tamil *kar, kaṟu*) and that both the alveolar and the cerebral could have suffered the change to *ttr* is an ancient period as some rare extant instances would testify. Again what appears as a post-dental *r* in *vēr* may very well have been alveolar at an ancient period as is suggested by the base from which *vēr* and other words have been produced.

Another difficulty is in regard to the length of the vowel. *Vēr* as it appears to-day has a long vowel, while *vettr*, etc. appear

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vēr-kuccu (root-stump) is the name given for a kind of underground cacuminate grass with plenty of fibrous roots.

Vēram (that which has roots) denotes in classical Tamil what is ordinarily known as *śēmbu* or 'colocasia arum'.

Again, the *tippali* or *pipali* plant with *root-like* catkins is described merely as *vēr*.

1. That the Dravidians could describe plants expressively would be clear from the above and also from instances like the following :—

nannāri (well-smelling). 'Hemidesmus indicus' with aromatic roots.

Kāttāḍi 'casurina' 'what moves with the wind.'

Puga-(y)-ilai 'tobacco' or 'smoke-leaf.'

Kaṟappu (dark) for 'poppy'

Kāñjoṟi (that which irritates), 'Tragia involucrata' which possesses stinging hairs all over its surface.

Tamil *kundru-maṇi*, Mal. *kunji-kkuru*, 'Abrus precatorius' possessing small, coloured round seeds.

Muḷḷu-murukku, 'Erythrina indica' having prickles in abundance.

2. *Vide* my paper on Alveolar *t*, *d* in the "Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute", Vol. I.

3, For a discussion of the different varieties of *r* in Dravidian, *cf.* my paper on Dr. *r*- sounds in I.H.Q., March, 1931.

to have a short vowel. This objection also might be answered by the fact that just as Tamil short vowels appear in derivatives the basal parts of which, when they stand alone, may show long vowels (as in *nēr*, *nettri*; *vēgu*, *vekkai* etc.), the vowel in the compound *vettrilai* also may have appeared as short. *Cf.* also Tuḷu *berkœ* (roots) which has a *short* radical vowel.

These are, however, only probabilities and in the absence especially of any extant compound in which the first component *vettr-* unequivocally means 'root', it would be hazardous to draw definitive conclusions about *vettr-* of *vettrilai* being related to the word *vēr* meaning 'root'.

If now we take up the other probable base $v\overset{a}{\underset{e}{-}}l$, $b\overset{a}{\underset{e}{-}}l$ and attempt to relate it to native Dravidian bases, only vague suggestions are possible. We shall find ourselves here on much shakier ground than with the reconstructed (Dr. bases with final *r* or -*ṛ*).

Conclusion.

We shall now sum up what this discussion has disclosed:—

(*a*) While the second components of the native Dravidian forms for 'betel-leaf' are native, the probable bases on which the first components have been formed show a certain structural correspondence to the Austric words.

(*b*) Our attempts to establish the native character of these probable bases have not enabled us to form definite conclusions, though we have been led to envisage certain probabilities.

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1. It would be interesting to consider if the other dialects offer us any help in this direction.

'Root' is denoted in Gōṇḍi by *sīṛ*. The first portion of *bīr-āki* is contained in *bīr-oli* (jungle bush). *bīr* with the meaning 'jungle' 'forest' is a common Santāli word and is probably native in that Indian Austric dinlect. If Gōṇḍi *bīr* of *bīr-āki* is a borrowing from Santāli, it may have nothing to do with Dr. *vēr* at all.

To Kurukh *barar* (pendulous roots of banyan or 'Ficus bengalensis'), Kurukh *baṛa* (banyan) is probably allied. Kurukh *baroi*, *barai* denote climbing plants. Kurukh *bara* (banyan) resembles the first word in Santāli *baṛe dare* (banyan), and probably and may be I A in origin. (cf. Kurukh *baṛa* 'much' 'many,' borrowed from I A.). Whether indeed the *other* Kurukh words have anything to do with Dr. *bēr* (root), the one *cannot* say.

(*c*) The question of the relationship of the Dravidian words for 'betel' and the Austric forms has therefore to remain open. Further researches into Dravido-Austric contacts can alone help us in arriving at satisfactory conclusions.

AMARAKHAṆḌANA OF ŚRĪ HARṢA

BY

T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A.,

Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit, University of Madras.

The Amarakhaṇḍana, the text of which accompanies this short paper, is attributed to Śrī Harṣa in the colophon. Who this Śrī Harṣa is, I have not been able to determine as yet. But it seems certain that he is not identical either with the author of the Ratnāvalī etc. or with the author of the Naiṣadha and other works. The present author quotes from recent writers and hence the conclusion stated above.

Two manuscript copies of this work are known so far. One belongs to the Adyar Library and the other to the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. Both are in palm leaf and in the Telugu script. Both copies are full of scriptorial errors and the worst part of it is, that both agree in the mistakes. The differences in the reading I not have noted in the foot-notes for they are negligible. The text as printed below is full of mistakes and therefore only tentative. The main reason that induced me to publish such an incorrect text is the historico-literary importance of the work. The work purports to be an unfavourable review of the Amarakośa of Amarasiṁha. Whether the criticisms are sound or otherwise, I do not intend discussing in this paper. But I propose to draw attention to the numerous authors and works quoted therein and make only such comments on them as are absolutely necessary.

The following authors are referred to in the course of the work:—

1. Ajaya
2. Cakravarti
3. Gadādhara
4. Govardhana
5. Govindapāda
6. Hemacandra
7. Keśava
8. Keśavabhaṭṭa
9. Ko. Lākṣibhaṭṭācārya
10. Lokākṣibhaṭṭa
11. Mahendrācārya
12. Maheśvara Dīkṣita

13. Pārthasārathimiśra
14. Parvatavardhana
15. Pūrvācāryāḥ
16. Rabhasa
17. Saṅghabhaṭācārya
18. Sudarśanācārya
19. Sudarśanācāryabhaṭṭācārya
20. Sudarśanamiśra
21. Vajrakhaḍgabhaṭṭācārya
22. Vardhana
23. Viśvaprakāśikākāra

The following works are referred to:—

1. Bālabhāgavata
2. Bāṣkalabhāṣya
3. Candrikā
4. Kośaratna
5. Mañjarī
6. Mañjūṣā
7. Maṇi
8. Mucukundabhāṣyavivaraṇa
9. Nānārthacandrikā
10. Nānārthaśikhāmaṇi
11. Paryāyaratnamālā
12. Paryāyārṇava
13. Śābarabhāṣyavyākhyā
14. Śabdacandrikā
15. Śabdacintāmaṇi
16. Śabdamīmāṁsā
17. Śabdānuśāsana
18. Śabdaratna
19. Śabdarūpamīmāṁsā
20. Śabdaśabdārthacintāmaṇi
21. Śabdaśabdārthamañjarī
22. Śabdaśabdārthamañjūṣā
23. Śāradātilakabhāṣyavivaraṇa
24. Vaijayantī.

Among the authors referred to above, some are already familiar to us, but many are new. The following are worthy of our attention, on account of the fact that they are otherwise unknown to us:—

Cakravarti.

From the reference to Cakravarti on page 21, we are led to think that he is a lexicographer. But the name of his lexicon is yet to be found out.

Gadādhara.

It is not known whether this Gadādhara is the same as the famous Naiyāyika. He is here referred to as the author of a commentary on the Śābarabhāṣya.

Govardhana.

This Govardhana is a lexicographer. His lexicon is called *Maṇi.* Govardhana is referred to in other places also as a lexicographer.

Govindapāda.

There are two references to Govindapāda and both the references point to the fact that he ought to have composed some

work on lexicography. The name of the work is however not given.

Keśava.

The only reference to Keśava is found on page 17. I have not been able to trace this quotation either to the Nānārthārṇavasaṅkṣepa of Keśavasvāmin or the Kalpadrukośa of Keśava.

Ko. Lākṣibhaṭṭācārya.

This person is referred to as the author of a lexicon by name Candrikā. Even the name of the author is not quite clear, for there are one or two letters missing between Ko. and Lā. I am not at present aware of any manuscript of the Candrikā of this unknown author.

Lokākṣibhaṭṭa.

Lokākṣibhaṭṭa is again an unknown lexicographer. A quotation from the work of this author is found on page 26.

Mahendrācārya.

There are two references to Mahendrācārya in this work. The former of the two references informs us that Mahendrācārya is the author of a work called *Mucukundabhāṣyavivaraṇa.* The second reference may be to the same work or to a different one.

Maheśvara Dīkṣita.

The reference to Maheśvara Dīkṣita is in connection with the Bālabhāgavata—a Kāvya, of which he is made out to be the author.

Pārthasārathimiśra.

This Pārthasārathimiśra need not be confounded with the author of the Śāstradīpikā. He is here the author of a lexicon by name Śabdacintāmaṇi.

Parvatavardhana.

A work called Śabdānuśāsana is here ascribed to the authorship of Parvatavardhana. So far as our knowledge goes at present, we do not know of any person of this name as the author of a Śabdānuśāsana. It is possible that the scribe has made a mistake for Harṣavardhana.

Saṅghabhaṭācārya.

Saṅghabhaṭācārya was the teacher of this Śrī Harṣa, the author of the Amarakhaṇḍana. He is here referred to as the author of a work called Śāradātilakabhāṣyavivaraṇa.

Sudarśanācārya.

We find this author as a lexicographer herein.

Sudarśanācāryabhaṭṭācārya.

This author has to his credit a work called Mañjarī—a lexicon.

Sudarśanamiśra.

He too seems to have been a lexicographer.

Vajrakhaḍgabhaṭṭācārya.

He wrote a lexicon called Śabdaratna.

Vardhamāna.

Vardhamāna was the author of the Śabdarupamīmāṁsā.

The following, among the works noted, are worthy of attention:—

Bālabhāgavata. See Maheśvara Dīkṣita.

Bāṣkala Bhāṣya.

Evidently this is some commentary on the Bhāṣkala Saṁhitā of the Ṛg-Veda. We do not know whose bhāṣya is referred to herein.

Candrikā. See Ko. Lākṣibhaṭṭācārya.

Kośaratna.

The name itself is suggestive of the contents. The author is unknown.

Mañjarī. See Sudarśanācāryabhaṭṭācārya.

Mañjūṣā.

We do not know whether this a contracted name of the Śabdaśabdārthamañjūṣā or a different work altogether.

Maṇi. See Govardhana.

Mucukundabhāṣyavivarṇa. See Mahendrācārya.

Nānārthacandrikā.

This is a lexicon of synonyms of unknown authorship.

Nānārthaśikhāmaṇi.

This is another lexicon of synonyms of unknown authorship.

Paryāyaratnamālā
and
Paryāyārṇava.

The former of these two works belongs to Maheśvaramiśra and the latter to Nīlakaṇṭhamiśra. Only manuscript copies of these works are available.

Śābarabhāṣyavyākhyā. See Gadādhara.

Śabdacandrikā. See Govindapāda.

Śabdacintāmaṇi.

On page 20, the author says that the work was composed by his father and on page 23 the name of the author of the Śabdacintāmaṇi appears as Pārthasārathimiśra. It would not be therefore too much to infer that Pārthasārathimiśra was the father of this Śrī Harṣa.

Śabdamīmāṁsā.

From the way in which the Śabdamīmāṁsā is referred to here, we are led to think that it is the work of Ajaya. We know that Ajaya has written the Nānārthasaṅgraha. Whether the present work is only another name of that work or whether it is different we cannot say.

There are two other references to the Śabdānuśāsana and one of them is certainly not Parvatavardhana's. About the other, we do not know at present.

Śabdaratna. See Vajrakhaḍgabhaṭṭācārya. There are 6 references to this work. Evidently it is a lexicon.

Śabdarūpamīmāṁsā. See Vardhanācārya.

Śabdaśabdārthacintāmaṇi.

This is a lexicon of unknown authorship. There are two references to this work here.

Śabdaśabdārthamañjarī.

This too is a lexicon of unknown authorship.

Śabdaśabdārthamañjūṣā.

Hamvīramiśrarāja is the author of this work. MS. copies of this work are available.

Śabdānuśāsana. See Parvatavardhana.

Śāradātilakabhāṣyavivaraṇa. See Saṅghabhaṭācārya.

Thus we see that in this short pamphlet a number of authors and works are quoted. Many of the works are not available at present. This is the only reason that induced me to publish this much defective text of the Amarakhaṇḍana.

॥ अमरखण्डनम् ॥

अतिचित्रमिदं हि चिन्त्यतां
विबुधैरप्यबुधातिजल्पितम् ।
रसवन्ति भवन्ति [?] तद्यथा-
मरसिंहस्य कृतिप्रकाशनम् ॥

तदिहैव विविच्यतेऽखिलं
शतशास्त्वेवमिति प्रबोधयन् ।
रसिकाः सरसी [?] कान्तमालस-
द्धृदयं ते सदयं पिबन्तु भोः ॥

यथा——'समाहृत्य' इत्यादौ । अयमाशयः——विपुलसंकुलप्राचीनग्रन्थ-शब्दवर्गै रूपभेदादिपूर्वकं बहुळनाम यावल्लिङ्गविशिष्टत्वेन ग्रन्थरचना क्रियत इति । एतद्रीत्यात्र न प्रतिमितीदं [?] न सम्यक् ॥

यथा वा——

"हय उच्चैःश्रवाः सूतो मातलिर्नन्दनं वनम्"

इत्यत्र

"हय उच्चैःश्रवा नीला शुभ्राङ्गी शक्रवाहनः ।
सूतोऽस्य मातलिः तिग्रः देवसारथिरित्यपि ॥
वनं च नन्दनं देवकाननं नन्दनामकम् ।
देवोद्यानं................................॥"

इत्यादि पर्यायरत्नमालारचितमस्ति नामबाहुल्यं हयादिना । किं च—

"मातलिर्मातलिर्विस्तिप्रः सारथिस्तु हयङ्कषः" इति रभसः । एवमेव तत्र तत्र कोशेषु वर्तते । तट्टीकमेव [?] नामरचितमिति बहुळयावन्नामता नास्तीत्यस्य निबन्धनभङ्गः । न च संक्षिप्तपदेन तद्दोषपरिहार इति वाच्यम् ; तदपेक्षया विशेषपरिष्काराभावत् अश्रद्धेयत्वप्रसक्तेः । किं च इन्द्रादिपर्यायाणां प्रवचनात् तद्बाध किता [?] स्यात् । न च प्राचुर्यत्वेन प्रतिपादनमिति वाच्यम्; तस्याविवक्षितत्वात्, स्वारस्याभावात् ।

"पृथुरोमा झषो मत्स्यो मीनो वैसारिणोऽण्डजः"

इत्यादिषु बहुषु प्रतिपादितस्य व्यर्थतापत्तेश्च । अत एव—

"देवलोको देवनिधिः स्वर्गः स्वभुवनं परम् ।
राजालयं सौख्यनिधिर्निरर्गळश्शुभोदयः ॥

स्वर्लोकस्तूर्ध्वलोकः स्यादपलोदपलोदयः ।
मन्दरः सैरिकः शक्रभवनं खं दिवं नभः ॥"

इति केशवः ॥

"वराळी मेघनिलया सौख्याधारा सुखालया ।
दूर्वामरावती स्थूणा गुळूची त्वमरास्मृते ॥"

इति विश्वप्रकाशिकाकारः ॥

"शतकोटिर्भिदुर्वज्रं व्याधावः शतधारकम्"

इति वैजयन्त्याम् ॥

"वज्रोऽशनिर्गिरीकण्ठः पविर्दम्भोळिरक्षभम्"

इति रभसः ॥

"तारा भं रात्रिजं धिष्ण्यं सन्नक्षत्रमुडुर्न ना"

इति वैजयन्त्याम् ॥

"बलभद्रो बलश्चैव तस्य संवर्तकं हलम् ।
सौनन्दमस्य मुसलं खड्गस्तु खचितः..... ॥"

इति वैजयन्त्याम् ॥

एवं तत्र तत्र द्रष्टव्यम् । एतेन प्रतिसंस्कृतनिबन्धस्याजागळस्तनता व्यक्ता। किं च—

"उपेन्द्र इन्द्रावरजो माधवः श्रीपतिर्हरिः"

इत्यादिकं क्वचिदुक्तमेवेति पुनः स्मरीकरिष्यते । एवं चैतत्तात्पर्येणैव—

"..............दावस्तु दावो वनहुताशनः"
"पृषदश्वो गन्धवहो गन्धवाहानिलाशुगाः"
"......तारा तारकाप्युडु वास्त्रियाम्"
"रोहितो लोहितो रक्तः शोणः कोकनदच्छविः"
"निक्वाणो निक्वणः क्वाणः क्वणः क्वणनमित्यपि"
"भ्रकुंसश्च भ्रुकुंसश्च भ्रूकुंसश्चेति नर्तकः"
"अनादरः परिभवः परीभावस्तिरस्क्रिया"
"कौतूहलं कौतुकं च कुतुकं च कुतूहलम्"
"निम्नं गभीरं गम्भीरं ...."
"खगे विहङ्गविहगविहङ्गमविहायसाः ।
शकुन्तपक्षिशकुनशकुन्तशकुनिद्विजाः ।
पतत्रिपत्रिपतगपतत्पत्ररथाण्डजाः ॥"
"द्राक्षा लाक्षा जतु क्लीबे..........."
"वाणिज्यं तु वणिज्यं स्यात्............"

इत्याद्युक्ता । एवं चात्र यावद्विकारवक्तृत्वस्य विषयत्वमिति स्फुट्यते । तथापि 'भाजनं पात्रम्' इत्यादिषु, नोक्तत्वात् क्वचित्प्रदेशप्रकाशनमितीदं कियदिति । प्रकृतमनुसरामः ।

किं च कोशस्तु द्विविधः, पर्यायनानार्थभेदात् । अत एव **पर्यायरत्नमाला, पर्यायार्णवः, नानार्थचन्द्रिका, नानार्थशिखामणिः, शब्दशब्दार्थमञ्जूषा** इत्यादिरूपेण लोकव्यवहारः । एष तु द्विविधरूपः सलिङ्गनिर्लिङ्गवर्गव्यतिरिक्तानां वर्गाणां पर्यायत्वात् अस्मिन् । अत एव—

"एकार्थवाचिशब्दानां पर्यायो मेळनं मतः"

इति **सुदर्शनाचार्यभट्टाचार्या** आहुः **मञ्जर्याम्** । एवं च तन्निबन्धनेनैव तत्कण्ठबन्धनं कुर्महे । किञ्चासङ्गतान्तरमत्रास्ति ।

"अमरा निर्जरा देवा जिष्णुरिन्द्रः शतक्रतुः"

इत्यादिना सामान्यविशेषाभावेन सर्वत्र प्रणीतमेव न्याय्यम् । नैर्ऋतिपर्यायार्थे "असुरा दैत्यदैतेयाः" इति सामान्यराक्षसपर्यायगणनाप्रस्तावे तत्पर्यायभूतान्—

"राक्षसः कोणपः क्रव्यात्क्रव्यादोऽस्रप आशरः
रात्रिंचरो रात्रिचरः.......................॥"

इत्यादिशब्दान् विहाय विशेषगणनाया विशेषपुरस्कारेण नीतमिति तन्नियतिः किमु वक्तव्येत्यत्रोपरम्यते ॥

"स्त्रियां बहुष्वप्सरसः स्वर्वेश्या उर्वशीमुखाः"

इति यदुक्तं तदयुक्तम् ।

"अप्सरा चाप्यप्सराश्च किञ्चाप्सरस इत्यपि"

इति **मुचिकुन्दभाष्यविवरणे महेन्द्राचार्याः** । अत एव **भास्कलभाष्येऽपि** 'बहुत्वमप्सरादीनाम्' इतीदं सूचितम् इति **शारदातिलकभाष्यविवरणे**ऽप्यस्मद्गुरवः **सङ्कभटाचार्या** अप्याहुः । एतदधिकं तत्रैव द्रष्टव्यं सूक्ष्मशेमुषीभिः । तत्सर्वं नोक्तमिति तदज्ञता स्फुटीकृता । न च तत्सोऽर्थ क्लैव[?]....गेप्रदर्शनमेवं कृतमिति वाच्यम् । तथा चेत् "जातिर्जातं च सामान्यम्" "स्थलं स्थली" इति भणनमेव न स्यात् । तत्रापि तदैवेत्युक्तावपि अनवस्थादोषः । किञ्च विरिञ्चिनादिपर्यायाणामेकपर्यायविकारकरणेनैव चारितार्थ्यादन्येषामजागळस्तनता इत्येतावन्तग्रन्थविरोध एव स्फूर्जत्येवेत्यलं शोधितशोधितेन ॥

"तमस्तु राहुः स्वर्भानुः सैंहिकेयो विधुंतुदः"

इति यत्तदसत् । तम इति शब्दस्य लिङ्गनिश्चयाभावात् । न च "तमिस्रं तिमिरं तमः" इति वाक्यादत्रापि नपुंसकतैवोपेया । अत एव—

"रजो गुणेऽपि स्त्रीवृष्ये राहोर्वान्ते गुणः तमः"

इत्यभिधानान्तरम् । अतस्तत्रापि क्लीबतैवेत्युच्यत इति वाच्यम् । तर्हि "पूः स्त्री पुरीनगर्यौ वा" इत्यस्य व्यर्थतैव, पुरमित्युत्तरानुशासनात् । आस्तामेतत् । यदि रूपभेदेनोच्यते इत्युच्यमाने पुंस्त्वं तदा "रजो गुणेऽपि" इति कोशविरोधः । किञ्च तव मते पुंस्त्वानुशासनाभावात् अगत्या क्लीबतैवेति सिद्धम् ।

किञ्च—

"स्त्रियां नौस्तरणिस्तारिः" इत्युक्तेस्तरणिशब्दस्य स्त्रीत्वे क्तुसति ? सूर्यपर्यायतरणिशब्दस्यापि स्त्रीत्वमेव स्यात् । यद्वा वेना [?] त्रैव पुंस्त्वं वा स्यात् । अत्रोभयत्रापि लिङ्गैकत्वेन येन केनापि रचितं नः श्रुतं च । अतस्त्वेवमेतस्मिन् ग्रन्थे कल्पितुं न युक्तम् । तथानुशासनाभावादशास्त्रीयत्वेन मायतैवेत्यास्तां प्रसक्तानुप्रसक्त्या । प्रकृतमनुसरामः । तमः इति पुंलिङ्ग इति **महेन्द्राचार्याः** । उक्तं च **शब्दशब्दार्थमञ्जूषायाम्**—

"तमः पुंसि गुणे राहौ धूळिध्वान्तार्तवारिषु ।
तमा तमी तमाश्चापि ध्वान्तादिषु समीहिता ॥"

इति । अत एव तम इत्यादिकं पुंस्येव सम्यगिति मन्यतेऽस्मिन्नर्थे **सुदर्शनमिश्रैः** इति **शाबरभाष्यव्याख्याने गदाधरो**ऽप्याहेति तत्सिद्धम् ।

यत्तु—

"पीडा बाधा व्यथा दुःखमामनस्यं प्रसूतिजम्"

इति तन्न ।

"पीडा पीडश्च सम्मतः" इति **पूर्वाचार्याः** ।
"चूडा गूडा नडा पीडा स्त्रियां पुंसि च रूढितः"

इति **वज्रखड्गभट्टाचार्यो**ऽप्याह **शब्दरत्ने** । अत **एवास्मत्तातचरणैः शब्द-चिन्तामणौ** "पुंसि पीडादिनाङ्कः पीडः" इति कथितम् । तस्मात्तथैव तदिति मन्तव्यम् ।

"महाक्षोणी भूमिः"

इति यत्, तन्न । अत्र इकारान्तईकारान्तयोः सत्त्वात् । यदाहुः—....
को लक्षिभट्टाचार्याश्च चन्द्रिकायाम्—

"कही मही सही क्षोणी मतिभूमिमहीमुखाः ।
ईकारान्ता इकरान्ताश्चेति सर्वज्ञशासनम् ॥"

इति । अत एव प्राञ्चः **शब्दानुशासने**ऽप्याहुः—

"ईकारान्ता इकारान्ता इकारान्तास्तथैव हि"

इति । एवं तत्र योज्यम् । अत एवान्येऽप्याचार्या आहुः—

"पुरः पुरा पुरं पुरी महिर्मही"

इत्यादिना ।

"हर्म्यादिर्धनिनां वासः"

इति यत्तदयोग्यम्, लिङ्गनिश्चयाभावात् । यदि पूर्वोत्तरपर्यालोचनया पुंलिङ्ग इति प्रवदति तर्हि तदप्यायासकरमेव ।

"हर्मि हर्मिश्च हर्म्यश्च हर्म्यं हर्म्याणि राड्गृहे"

इति **शब्दरत्न**पाठात् । अत एवाधुनिका अप्येवमाहुः । योज्यम् [?]

"निर्झरो झरः"

इत्यलिङ्गविशेषनिरूपणाभावाद्बाधकमेव ।

"झारि झरा झरी झारिः झारा झाराश्च निर्झरः"

इति **शब्दशब्दार्थमञ्जूषो**क्तेः ।

"स्त्रियः सुमनसः पुष्पम्"

इत्यत्र न सुमनस इति बहुवचनं युक्तम् ।

"सुमनः सुमनाः स्त्रियाम्"

इति **चक्रवर्त्यु**क्तेः । किञ्च—

"सुमनः सुमनाश्चैव स्यात्क्रमात्पुंसि च स्त्रियाम्"

इति **केशवभट्टाचार्याः** । अत एव **शब्दरूपमीमांसायां** च **वर्धनाचार्यो**ऽप्याह—

"सुमनं सुमनः सुमनः बहुषु" इति ।

"पुष्पोऽस्त्री कुसुमम्"

इति **वैजयन्त्याम्** । न पुष्प·······तिनम् । किञ्च **सुदर्शनाचार्यो**ऽप्याह—

"पुष्पोऽन्त्री कुसुमे नीले घृततालादिकेषु च" इति ॥

"नडस्तु धमनः पोटगळोर्था कोशमस्त्रियाम्"

इत्यसत् ।

"नलोऽम्बुजे नलं न स्त्री धमनाख्यतृणेऽन्तिमः"

इति **हेमचन्द्रः** ॥

"स्याद्वीरणं वीरतरं··············"

तदसत् ।

"वीराङ्को वीरवृक्षः स्यात् वीरणश्चापि वीरकः"

इति **पर्यायरत्नमालायाम्** ॥

"गिरिका बालमूषिका"

इति यदुक्तं तन्न सम्यक् । बालमूषीति तस्य पुंस्त्वेन प्रयोगात् । यथा **शब्दशब्दार्थमञ्जूषायाम्**—

"गिरिका गैरिका चैव वसुमर्त्ता महेश्वरी ।
स्त्रीपुंसयोश्च बालीयमूषिका मूषकश्च सः ॥" इति ।

उक्तं च **शब्दरत्ने**—

"गिरिका मूषिका वत्से न क्लीबे गिरिका शिवा" इति ॥

"चटकः कलविङ्कः स्यात् तस्य स्त्री चटका तयोः ।
पुमपत्ये चाटकैरस्त्वपत्ये·······चटकैव हि ॥"

इति यत्तदसत्, एवमुक्तेः प्रयोजनाभावात्, एतत्प्रकरणेऽप्यनुक्तत्वादुक्तस्यापि निष्फलत्वात् । यद्येवमन्येषामूहितुमिति "गिरिका बालमूषिका" इत्याद्युक्तेः निष्फलतादिदोषबाहुल्यं स्यात् । तत्र बालमूषिकेऽप्यनुक्तत्वादित्यादिकं विचार-रमणीयं विवेकिभिः ॥

"कान्तार्थिनी तु या याति संकेतं साभिसारिका"

इति न समीचीनम् ।

"कान्ताथ संकेतगता कान्तेनापि समागता ।
स्यात्साभिसारिका नैव न क्लीबे दौत्यजन्तुषु ॥"

इति **शब्दरत्ने** । अत एव **महेश्वरदीक्षितो**ऽपि **बालभागवते**ऽप्याह—

"कान्तं गता कान्तगता रहस्यात्साभिसारिका" इति ।

अपरे त्वालङ्कारिका एवमाहुः—

"पादाङ्गदं तुलाकोटिर्मञ्जीरो नूपुरोऽस्त्रियाम्" ।

इत्याहुर्यत्तदसत् [?] । तुलाकोटिशब्दस्य लिङ्गनिश्चयाभावात् । यदि मञ्जीरपदसाहित्यात् पुंस्त्वमिति वदति तर्हि,

"तुलाकाटिः स्त्रियां प्रोक्ता मञ्जीरेऽप्युडुके त्रिषु"

इति **कोशरत्नकृतनिर्णयस्य** व्यर्थता स्यात् ।

"स्त्रियां तुलाकोटिरासीत् मञ्जीरावर्तयोः पुमान्"

इति **गोविन्दपाद**ाद्युक्तिवैषम्यं प्रसज्येतेत्यलं खण्डनेन ॥

"तमालपत्रं तिलकं चित्रकं च विशेषकम् ।
द्वितीयं च तुरीयं च स क्लियामथ कुङ्कुमम् ॥"

इति यत्तदसत् ।

"फालाङ्कं चित्रकं दिव्यं तिलकं मुखमण्डनम् ।
तमालपत्रं प्रद्युम्नसहायं चापि नः क्लियाम् ॥"

इति **शब्दशब्दार्थचिन्तामणौ** प्रतिपादनात् ।

"स्मरः प्रियस्मरोद्योगचित्रकान्तिमनोहराः ।
विशेषकमुखाः शब्दस्तिलके क्लीबतापि च ॥"

इति **हेमचन्द्रोक्तेः** । अत एव **पार्थसारथिमिश्रो**ऽपि **शब्दाचिन्तामणौ** आह—

"किञ्चापि चित्रकाद्याश्च तिलके पुंनपुंसकाः" इति ।

"तत्कालस्तु तथात्वं स्यादायतिः काल उत्तरः"

इत्यत्र आयतिशब्दस्य लिङ्गनिश्चयाभावात् अनुचितमेतत्प्रकरणादिना ; तदसिद्धेश्च; यदि "स्यात्प्रभावोऽपि चायतिः" इति नानार्थेषूक्तत्वात् तत्राप्रकरणात् स्त्रीत्वस्य क्लृप्तत्वेऽपि स्त्रीत्वमुन्नेयमिति, तर्हि प्रायश इति निबन्धनस्य निष्फलत्वं स्यात् । एतदुपलक्षकमित्युच्यमाने सर्वेषां पर्यायाणां लिङ्गादीनां च उपलक्षका इति

स्याताम् । एवं च "स्वरव्ययम्" इत्युक्त्यैव सर्वेषामुपलक्षकविधया सिद्धिवशाद्ग्रन्थमात्रोच्छेदः स्यादित्यलं धावनेन । एवं च तन्निबन्धनमेव तत्कण्ठबन्धनं जातमिति सूचितम् ॥

"निगळस्तु गळोद्देशे"

इति न सम्यक् ।

"निगाळश्च निगाळा च निगाळं च निगाळकम् ।
निगाळी च गळोद्देशे गळीये वाच्यवच्च तत् ॥" इति

शब्दशब्दार्थमञ्जूषायाम् । तत् उक्तशब्दजातमित्यर्थः ॥

"फलकोऽस्त्री फलं चर्म संग्राह्यो मुष्टिरस्य यः"

इति यत्तदसत् ।

"फलकस्त्रिषु विष्ण्वादौ फलकश्चर्मणि स्मृतः"

इति मञ्जूषायाम् ।

"शिलाभेदे चर्मणि च फलको सलदेषु" [?] इति

गोवर्धनोऽप्याह मणौ ।

"दारुपात्रविशेषे च फालेऽश्मनि च चर्मणि ।
फलकः पुंसि वरदे फलकस्त्रिषु संमतः ॥" इति

शब्दरत्ने ॥

"प्रस्थानं गमनं गमः"

इति यत्तदसत् ।

"गमनं संगतं यानं प्रस्थानं च प्रचालनम् ।
प्रभाळिकादिशब्दाश्च पुंसि चेति विदुर्बुधाः ॥" इति

शब्दचिन्तामणौ ।

"गमनस्तु कळानाथे महेश्वरवसन्तयोः ।
प्रस्थाने बाहुळेये च पुंसि त्रिषु विकारिषु ॥" इति

पर्वतवर्धनोऽप्याह शब्दानुशासने ॥

"पांसुर्ना न द्वयो रजः"

इति न समीचीनम् ।

"शिरोवाचि शिरःशब्दो रजोवाचि रजस्तथा ।

शिरश्च रज इत्येव तकारान्ते च पुंसि च ॥" इति

शब्दशब्दार्थचिन्तामणौ ।

"रजस्तु पुंस्यकारान्तः पांसौ शंभौ ऋतावपि" इत्यादयः [?] ॥

"केतनं ध्वजमस्त्रियाम्" इत्याह यत्तदयोग्यम् ।

"केतनं पुंसि लशुने ध्वजे चन्द्रे च न स्त्रियाम्" इति

शब्दानुशासनात् ॥

"स्त्रियां कृषिः पाशुपाल्यं वाणिज्यं चेति वृत्तयः"

इति यत्तन्न विचारक्षमम् ।

"वाणिज्यं चापि वाणिज्या वाणीज्या इति संमता" इति

शब्दचन्द्रिकायाम् ।

"वृत्तौ प्रोक्ता च वाणीज्यं वाणिज्यापि च वाणिजम्" इति

गोविन्दपादाः ॥

"व्रीहिभेदस्त्वणुः पुमान्"

इति यत्तन्न मनोहरम् ।

"तृणोऽस्त्रि [?]....शुपुटके व्रीहिदुढादिकेऽपि [?]........च ॥" इति

शब्दरत्ने ।

"कणः कणं च लेशे स्यात् तृणोऽपि तृणमस्त्रियाम्" इति

शब्दशब्दार्थमञ्जूषायाम् ।

"कपिशं सस्यमञ्जरी" इत्यसत् ।

"कणिशः कण्टकः छन्नः पन्नलः सस्यमञ्जरी" इति

शब्दशब्दार्थमञ्जर्याम् ।

"कणिशं कणिशश्चैव कणीशी कणिशापि च" इति **शब्दचन्द्रिकायां** च ॥

"अयोऽग्रं मुसलोऽस्त्री स्यात्"

इत्यसंगतम् ।

"अयोऽग्रः कुन्तलादौ च मुसलादौ शरादिके" इति **शब्दरत्ने** ।

"अयोऽग्रोऽस्त्री शरादौ च मुसलादौ च संमतः" इति **लोकाक्षिभट्टश्च** ॥

"रुक्म कार्तस्वरं जाम्बूनदमष्टापदोऽस्त्रियाम्"

इत्यसत् । जाम्बूनदशब्दस्यापि पुंलिङ्गस्य सत्त्वात् । यदाह **जयः**—

"लोहाजोष्टापदो हेम जाम्बूनदमयानुकाः ।

क्लीबेऽप्येते च शब्दाः स्युरिति शास्त्रविदो विदुः ॥" इति

शब्दमीमांसायाम् । अत एव **शब्दशब्दार्थमञ्जूषायां** च—

"हेम जाम्बूनदपदे पुंसि चाह्वर्विशेषकाः" इति ।

एवमश्मसारमधुच्छषकादीनां यथायोगं योजनीयं सूक्ष्मधीभिरित्युपरम्यते । एवममरनिबन्धनस्याशास्त्रीयत्वमिति सिद्धान्तितम् ॥

इत्थं विपक्षविबुधमस्तकन्यस्तसत्पदा ।
श्रीहर्षेण कृतं सन्तः पठन्त्व**मरखण्डनम्** ॥

॥ इत्यमरखण्डनम् श्रीहर्षविरचितं समाप्तम् ॥

ŚĀNTA—THE NINTH RASA.*

BY

PANDIT. D. T. TATACHARYA SIROMANI, M. O. L.,

Professor of Mīmāṁsā, Sanskrit College, Tiruvadi.

About the *rasa* called *śānta,* much controversy appears to have arisen and continued long among the old Ālaṅkārikas. The oldest extant work in which we find for the first time this *rasa* expressly mentioned is Udbhaṭa's Kāvyālaṅkārasaṁgraha (p. 49). But there, neither Udbhaṭa nor his commentator, Pratīhārendurāja, introduces any opposite views regarding it, and it is merely mentioned along with others, as if there has been no conflict of opinion about it. One reason why some refuse to accept *śānta* is given by Abhinavagupta, by way of introduction to a passage in the Dhvanyāloka, where Ānandavardhana endeavours to establish this *rasa.* This is the introductory line (p. 176) :—

ननु नास्त्येव शान्तो रसः । तस्य तु स्थाय्येव नोपदिष्टो मुनिनेत्याशङ्क्याह—शान्तश्चेति ।

But the following extract from Dhanika (Jivananda's Ed. 1878—p. 165) contains some other reasons also :—

इह शान्तरसं प्रति वादिनामनेकविधा विप्रतिपत्तयः । तत्र केचिदाहुः—नास्त्येव शान्तो रसः । तस्याचार्येण विभावाद्यप्रतिपादनाल्लक्षणाकरणात् । अन्ये तु वस्तुतस्तस्याभावं वर्णयन्ति । अनादिकालप्रवाहायातरागद्वेषयोरुच्छेत्तुमशक्यत्वात् । अन्ये तु वीरबीभत्सादावन्तर्भावं वर्णयन्ति । एवं वदन्तः शममपि नेच्छन्ति ।

Most probably to the first अन्ये, and केचित्, mentioned by Dhanika in the above passage, might be ascribed the authorship of the two *ślokas* respectively, which, Dharmasūri, the author of the Sāhityaratnākara, quotes in the *pūrvapakṣa* concerning the *śānta rasa,* with a few introductory words :—

अन्ये तु 'न शान्तं मेनिरे रसम्' इति प्रमाणयन्तोऽष्टावेव रसानभिप्रेत्याहुः—

* Appendix to "Definition of Poetry or Kāvya", thesis approved by the University of Madras for the Degree of Master of Oriental Learning.

रागद्वेषविलाससंभृतरसं विश्वं जगच्चेष्टते
तावेतौ सुतरामनादिसुमहाकालप्रवाहोल्बणौ ।
नैकोऽपि क्षमते पुमांस्तदनयोरामूलमुन्मूलने
तेनात्यन्तपरीक्षणे तु भुवने का नाम शान्तेः कथा ॥

अपि च,

यदि नवमतया शमो मतः स्यात्
किमिति मुनिः सं च नालक्षदेनम् ।
अपि परिगणयन् रसेषु भावान्
रतिमुखानलङ्घदस्य किं वा ॥

Dhanañjaya seems to accept *śama* as distinct from *śānta rasa,* which, he thinks, has no place in a drama :—

शममपि केचित्प्राहुः पुष्टिर्नाट्येषु नैतस्य ।

Explaining the above, Dhanika writes :—

यथा तथास्तु । सर्वथा नाटकादावभिनयात्मनि स्थायित्वमस्माभिः शमस्य निषिध्यते । तस्य समस्तव्यापारप्रविलयरूपस्याभिनयायोगात् ।

What chiefly led Dhanika and Dhanañjaya to such a conclusion is evidently the silence of Bharata with respect to its स्थायिभाव—which Abhinavagupta refers to in the line quoted above. But how are we to account for Udbhaṭa's statement (P. 49.)—

"बीभत्साद्भुतशान्ताश्च नव नाट्ये रसाः स्मृताः" ?

From the Locana, we understand that according to some, Bharata himself accepts the *śānta rasa.* Abhinavagupta says there :— अन्ये तु

"स्वं स्वं निमित्तमासाद्य शान्तादुत्पद्यते रसः ।
पुनर्निमित्तापाये तु शान्त एव प्रलीयेत ॥ "[1]

इति भरतवाक्यं दृष्टवन्तः सर्वरससामान्यस्वभावं शान्तमाचक्षाणाः ।

This is his own view also. Because he writes further on—

प्रतीयत एवेति । मुनिनाप्यङ्गीकृत एव "क्वचिच्छमः" इत्यादि वदता ।

Following Udbhaṭa, some held that the chief *rasa* in the Nāgānanda is *śānta.* Dhanika refutes this, in defence of his own and Dhanañjaya's theory:

1. My endeavour to trace out these words of Bharata in the Nāṭya Śāstra has proved fruitless. Yet I am far from affirming that they could not be found there.

यत्तु कैश्चिन्नागानन्दादौ शमस्य स्थायित्वमुपवर्णितम्, तत्तु मलयवत्य-नुरागेण आप्रबन्धप्रवृत्तेन विद्याधरचक्रवर्तित्वप्राप्त्या(च) विरुद्धम् । न ह्येकानु-कार्यविभावालम्बनौ विषयानुरागापरागावुपलब्धौ ।

Having in view what he is thus going to say in the fourth Pariccheda, Dhanika concludes in the second Pariccheda (pp. 65—6) that the hero of the Nāgānanda, Jīmūtavāhana, is *dhīrodātta*, not *dhīraśānta*. But Hemacandra, who follows Abhinavagupta in almost everything, accepts heartily *śānta*, and thus attacks Dhanika in his Alaṅkāracūḍāmaṇi :—

एवं यत् कैश्चिज्जीमूतवाहनस्य धीरोदात्तत्वं प्रतिष्ठि(ष्ठापि)तं तत् प्रत्युक्तमेव ।

Mammaṭa, who regards *nirveda* as the *sthāyībhāva* of *śānta*, is also attacked here by Hemacandra. The former writes in the Kāvyaprakāśa : (4th Ullāsa.)

निर्वेदस्यामङ्गलप्रायस्य प्रथममनुपादेयत्वेऽप्युपादानं व्यभिचारित्वेऽपि स्थायित्वाभिधानार्थम् । तेन निर्वेदस्थायिभावः शान्तोऽस्ति नवमो रसः ।

This view appears in a metrical garb in Dharmasūri's Sāhityaratnākara :

न स्थायिव्यभिचारिते यदि पुनश्चित्ते मुनेः सम्मते
 निर्वेदस्य निरूप्य तान् रतिमुखानष्टावपि स्थायिनः ।
तेषूद्देश्यतया स्थितेषु बहुशो भावेषु सञ्चारिणां
 नित्यामङ्गलमुद्दिशेत् कथमसौ निर्वेदमेवादितः ॥

Rejecting the above, Hemacandra says (p. 81):

एतेन निर्वेदस्यामङ्गलप्रायत्वेऽपि व्यभिचारिषु यन्मुनिना प्रथममुपादान कृतं तत् स्थायिताभिधानार्थमिति यदुक्तं तत् प्रतिक्षिप्तम् । तथा हि—कोऽयं निर्वेदो नाम ? .... तस्मात् शम एव स्थायी । न च शमशान्तयोः पर्यायत्वमाशङ्कनीयम् । हासहास्ययोरिव सिद्धसाध्यतया लौकिका-लौकिकतया साधारणासाधारणतया च वैलक्षण्यात् ।

We meet with an interesting passage in the Sāhityaratnākara, from which we understand that the quarrel about the *sthāyībhāva* was in no way less, perhaps much greater, than that about the *rasa* itself:

किञ्च 'जुगुप्साविस्मयशमाः स्थायिभावाः' इति वचनानुरोधात् श्रुत एवास्य स्थायिभावः । केचिदुत्साहं स्थायिनमाहुः । कोहलस्तु उत्साहो वा निर्वेदो वा शमो वास्य स्थायीत्युवाच । केचिज्जुगुप्सास्थायिनमेनमाहुः ।

Surely it is quite impossible to trace out at present wherefrom Dharmasūri came to know of this view of Kohala. About Kohala, all that can be gathered from a minute and patient scrutiny of all the existing Alaṅkāra works, is set forth by S. K. De, in his "Sanskrit Poetics" (pp. 24-6). I should add here that one Mārkaṇḍeya-Kavīndra is said to have written in his Prākṛta-Sarvasva as follows:

शाकल्य-भरत-कोहल-वररुचि-भामह-वसन्तराजाद्यैः प्रोक्तान् ग्रन्थान्....
....मार्कण्डेयकवीन्द्रः प्राकृतसर्वस्वमारभते ।

From this we understand that Kohala was the author of a Prākṛta work now lost to us; but since the chronological order seems to have been kept in view by Mārkaṇḍeya in mentioning these authors it may be well supposed that according to him Kohala was anterior to Vararuci the author of Prākṛta-Prakāśa.

Leaving the question of *sthāyībhāvā* of the *śāntarasa*, Dharmasūri goes on to specify—by way of answering a question—the kind of poetry in which *śānta* can have a place;

ननु सर्वव्यापारोपरमरूपस्य तस्याभिनयप्रधानेषु नाट्यप्रबन्धेषु कथमुपयोग इति चेन्मैवम् । न हि वयं नाट्यप्रबन्धेष्वपि शान्तरसप्रचारमाद्रियामहे । किन्तु वर्णनात्मककाव्यभेदेष्वेव । अत एव 'अष्टौ नाट्ये रसाः स्मृताः' इति काव्यप्रकाशिकाकारः ।

Such an answer perhaps was suggested to him by Ānandavardhana, who, in a somewhat lengthy disquisition in the fourth Uddyota of his Dhvanyāloka, proves that *śānta* is the principal *rasa* in the Mahābhārata. But Dhanika seems to be a bitter enemy of *śānta*, for, even in the Mahābhārata he would not allow it. Introducing and commenting upon a line of Daśarūpa he writes (p. 176);

ननु शान्तरसस्यानभिधेयत्वात् (This is palpably a mistake: it should be आनभिनेयत्वात्) नाट्येऽपि सूक्ष्मातीतादिवस्तूनां सर्वेषामपि शब्दप्रतिपाद्यतया विद्यमानत्वात् काव्यविषयत्वं न निवार्यते । अतः (?) तदुच्यते—

शमप्रकर्षो (?) निर्वाच्यो मुदितादेस्तदात्मता[1] ॥

शान्तो हि यदि तावत्

1. This line is very badly misunderstood and mistranslated by Haas.

न यत्र दुःखं न सुखं न चिन्ता
न द्वेषरागौ न च काचिदिच्छा ।
रसस्तु शान्तः कथितो मुनीन्द्रैः
सर्वेषु भावेषु शमप्रधानः ॥

इत्येवंलक्षणः, तदा तस्य मोक्षावस्थायामेवात्मस्वरूपापत्तिलक्षणायां प्रादुर्भावात् (?) तस्य च स्वरूपेणानिर्वाच्यता । तथा हि—श्रुतिरपि 'स एष नेति नेति' इत्यन्यापोहरूपेणाह । न च तथाभूतस्य शान्तरसस्य सहृदयाः स्वादयितारः सन्ति । अथ तदुपायभूतो मुदितामैत्रीकरुणोपेक्षालक्षणः तस्य च विकासविस्तरक्षोभविक्षेपरूपतैवेति तदुक्त्यैव शान्तरसास्वादो निरूपितः ॥

Thus Dhanika is in direct conflict with Ānandavardhana though he does not expressly refute his theory. Dharmasūri too is wrong in supposing that Ānandavardhana is not in favour of *śānta* being given a place in dramatic works. For, the latter when arguing in favour of the ninth *rasa,* tells us that the three *vīras* of Bharata, *dayā, dāna,* and *dharma,* imply *śānta,*—a fact—which leads us to conclude that those dramatic pieces whose heroes belong to any one of the three above-mentioned classes, are necessarily expressive of *śāntarasa.* That such was the idea of Ānandavardhana is strengthened by the following lines of his commentator Abhinavagupta, who gives the highest place to *śānta* among the *rasas;*

आधिकारिकत्वेन तु शान्तो रसो (न?) निबद्धव्य इति चन्द्रिकाकारः, तच्चेहास्माभिर्न पर्यालोचितम् । प्रसङ्गान्तरात् । मोक्षफलत्वेन चायं परमपुरुषार्थनिष्ठितत्वात् सर्वरसेभ्यः प्रधानतमः ।

It is generally known that sometimes the poets themselves propound, expressly or by implication, theories relating to the art of poetry. One of such poets is Kṛṣṇamiśra, the well-known author of the Prabodha-Candrodaya, whose principal *rasa* is *śānta* as Nāgeśa rightly points out in his commentary on Rasagaṅgādhara[1] (p. 30). It is in Veṅkaṭanātha "Master of all arts and sciences," that we see the most eminent poet who refutes the views of Dhanika and Dhanañjaya with regard to the *śāntarasa.* The following, taken from the prologue to his drama,

1. Ed. 1888.

the Sankalpasūryodaya, is a portion of the dialogue between Sūtradhāra and Naṭī :—

नटी—युक्तमेवैतद्व्याहृतमार्यस्य । तथापि शान्तो नाम रसो नास्तीति गन्धर्वागमदेशिकैः समर्थ्यते । तस्मादत्र कथं तादृशस्य रसस्य निवेशः ?

सूत्रधारः— (सावज्ञावहित्थम्) आर्ये ! न खलु सम्भावयामि तानहं भरतमतपारदृश्वनः । (विमृश्य)

अथवा तादृशान् सभ्यान् मत्वा जगति दुर्लभान् ।
शङ्के शान्तिरसोल्लासमशक्यमभिमेनिरे ॥

अपि च—

असभ्यपरिपाटिकामधिकरोति शृङ्गारिता
परस्परतिरस्कृतिं परिचिनोति वीरायितम् ।
विरुद्धगतिरद्भुतस्तदलमल्पसारैः परैः
शमस्तु परिशिष्यते शमितचित्तखेदो रसः ॥

नटी—भवतु नाम सनकसनन्दनादिमुनिजनसंगृहीतः सोऽपि तादृशो रसः । तथापि कथं निष्पन्दनिखिलकरणनिष्पादनीययोगप्रधान एष सर्वजनप्रेक्षणीयेन नाटकवृत्तान्तेन संपाद्यते ।

सूत्रधारः—आर्ये ! मैवं वादीः । न हि वयमवधूतनिखिलधर्माणामलेपकानां मतमभिनेष्यामः येनैवमाशङ्कसे । सन्ति खलु भगवता गीताचार्येण सहस्रशः प्रतिपादिताः सात्त्विकेन त्यागेन परिकर्मिता निवृत्तिधर्मपद्धतिनियता विविधा व्यापाराः यदभिनयेन रङ्गोपजीविनामाजीवावकाशः । अपि चेदं निशमयतु निशामयतु वा नाट्यवैभवं भवती । श्रूयते हि—

न तच्छास्त्रं न सा विद्या न तच्छिल्पं न ताः कलाः ।
नासौ योगो न तज्ज्ञानं नाटके यन्न दृश्यते ॥

"*Naṭī* (with joy)—What my lord sayeth is right, but how to account for the embodiment of the emotion of peace in this drama, when the masters of the Histrionic art maintain that there is no such thing as *Śānta.*

Sūtradhāra (contemptuously)—Lady ! Them, then, I do not consider as connoisseurs of the histrionic art.

They hold the opinion that the emotion of peace could not be enacted, perhaps because of the difficulty to find in this world an audience to appreciate that emotion.

Further :—

The erotic emotion pampereth the ways of the wicked; the emotion of valour breedeth mutual contempt, the emotion of wonder bordereth on the grotesque; the other emotions are paltry enough. But peace alone then by elimination is the emotion that allayeth the agony of the mind.

Naṭī—This superior emotion (peace) is of the experience of great sages, such as Sanaka, Sanandana and others. Still, how could this emotion, the essence of which is *yoga* which is attainable only by the control of the sense-group, be represented in a drama, fit alone to be witnessed by Philistines !

Sūtradhāra—Lady! say not so. For:—for thee to raise this doubt, we are not going to depict the creed of Alepakas, who give up the performance of all duties. There are *varṇāśrama* duties expounded times without number, by the divine Lord Kṛṣṇa,—duties ennobled by the doctrine of *Sāttvikatyāga* and which could not be abandoned by the adherents of *Nivṛttidharma.* It is the discharge of these duties that giveth the lovers of Ranga their lives' goal. Further hear and see more, about the greatness of true histrionic art. For, it is said :—

That which could not be depicted in a drama is neither *śāstra* nor *vidyā, śilpa,* nor *kalā, yoga* nor *jñāna.*"[1]

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1. These passages are extracted from the translation of the Saṇkalpasūryodaya by K. Narayanacharya, B.A., and D. Raghunathaswami Iyengar.

THE CHINESE SUVARṆA-SAPTATI AND THE MĀṬHARA-VṚTTI.

BY

S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI, M.A., Bar-at-Law,

Reader in Indian Philosophy, Madras University.

It is well-known that Paramārtha, a Buddhist monk who went and lived in China in the 5th Century A. D., took with him a number of works from India, which he translated into Chinese. One of these was the *Sāṅkhya-Kārikā*, which in the Chinese is known by the equivalent of the *Suvarṇa-Saptati.* The translation includes a commentary as well. Both of these were first made available to the non-Chinese-knowing world by M. Takakusu in the *Bulletin de l' Ecole Francaise de l' Extreme Orient*, in 1904. M. Takakusu noticed several points of resemblance between Gauḍapāda's bhāṣya and the commentary that had been translated by Paramārtha. There is not much room to think that the latter was written by Paramārtha, since, in more than one place[1], he adds a note of his own, either explaining the commentary or dissenting therefrom. It was, therefore, thought that Gauḍapāda's bhāṣya was possibly translated by Paramārtha, or else some commentary, which was the original for Gauḍapāda as well. When later a manuscript of the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti* was discovered, it was found that this had far greater affinities with what Paramārtha had translated into Chinese; while at the same time from its being in some ways clearer and fuller than Gauḍapāda's bhāṣya, it seemed to be the original of the latter too. It seemed, therefore, exceedingly likely that the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti* was the original for Paramārtha. This conclusion was stated by Dr. Belvalkar[2] quite a long time ago and presumably he is of the same opinion still. He is not unaware of some differences between the two, but he considers these to be of little moment, like those incidental to differences of recension, as between the Chinese and the Japanese. Anything like an examination in some detail of the two commen-

1. See, for instance, the *sous-commentaires* on verses 8 and 51.
2. *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 171-184.

taries seems, however, to reveal several differences in fundamentals, differences that can hardly square with the hypothesis of the one having been the original of the other. Such an examination has been under-taken elsewhere by the present writer; he seeks here only to re-state some of the points of difference under three heads : I. Differences in doctrine between Māṭhara and Paramārtha: II. Differences in exposition, where Paramārtha agrees more with Gauḍapāda than with Māṭhara; III. Differences in exposition, where Paramārtha is fuller and more intelligible than either Māṭhara or Gauḍapāda.

I

(*a*) The first of these relates to the order of evolution. "The five subtle elements", says Paramārtha, "proceed from *ahaṅkāra*; they are then products; but they produce the five *mahābhūtas* and the *indriyas*; they are then productive; that is to say, the subtle element of sound produces ethereal space and the organ of hearing, the subtle element of odour produces the earth and the organ of smell and so on." The doctrine of the origin of the *indriyas* from the *tanmātras* is foreign to the Sāṅkhya of the *Kārikās*, as expounded by Māṭhara or Gauḍapāda or by any known Saṃskṛt commentator. The account given here (in the commentary on verse 3), occurs elsewhere too, in the commentaries on verses 8, 10, 26 and 56, while it is implied by the commentary on verse 34. A passage from the commentary on verse 26 may be quoted to remove any possible doubt as to Paramārtha's meaning. "The organ of hearing proceeds from the suble element of sound and is related in nature to the gross element, ether; it perceives, then, sounds alone. The organ of touch proceeds from the subtle element of touch and is related in nature to the gross element air ; it perceives, then, contact alone." It must be noted that verses 22 and 25 of the *Kārikās*[3] seem to contain a distinctly different teaching about the order of evolution. In commenting on these, Paramārtha seems to lay no stress on the order mentioned, and cannot be taken to have contradicted the order explicitly laid down in commenting on both earlier and later verses. Presumably these verses were treated as

3. *prakṛter mahāṃs tato 'haṅkāras tasmād gaṇas ca ṣoḍaśakaḥ* |
tasmād api ṣoḍaśakāt pañcabhyaḥ pañca bhūtāni | |
sāttvika ekādaśakaḥ pravarttate vaikṛtād ahaṅkārāt |
bhūtādes tanmātras sa tāmasas taijasād ubhayam | |

not teaching a definite sequence or as not intending the sequence mentioned.

Paramārtha, that is to say, the commentator whose work he translated, does not seem to have stood alone in thus understanding the sequence of the *tattvas*. His account has great affinities with that given in the *Maṇimēkalai* and some parts of the *Mahābhārata*.[4] Here, the organs of sense are said to evolve from the *mahābhūtas*; "from ether (proceed) the evolutes called the ear and sound, from air the evolutes called skin and touch," and so on. If the difference of this doctrine from what is called classical Sāṅkhya, and its affinities with what is known as Epic Sāṅkhya can serve as indications of an early date, it is likely that Paramārtha too was translating the work of some very early commentator, one who came long before Māṭhara or Gauḍapāda.

(*b*) The next major point of difference relates to verse 67 which is ordinarily understood to teach a state of release, while still embodied. "Virtue and the rest having ceased to function as causes, because of the attainment of perfect wisdom, (the spirit) remains (awhile) invested with the body, because of the force of past impressions, like the whirl of the (potter's) wheel (which persists for a while by virtue of the momentum imparted by a prior impulse)". This is not, however, the way in which Paramārtha understands it. Because of full and perfect knowledge, it is said, virtue etc., have no longer any influence; transmigration is (therefore) arrested, as the body of the potter's wheel, whose movement one interrupts. The idea of *jīvanmukti* finds no place here. The verse is introduced with the question "if knowledge gives deliverence, why are you and I not yet released ?" As it stands, Paramārtha's commentary seems to give no answer except that release comes with death alone. There is no room to think that M. Takakusu's translation is at fault here, as it is elsewhere, in rendering what Gauḍapāda understands by *yama, niyama* etc.; for, it is difficult to believe that the translator misunderstood a whole passage, especially when he was aware of Gauḍapāda's interpretation of that verse as teaching a doctrine of *jīvanmukti*. There is no reason to think either that the doctrine was an integral part of the Sāṅkhya from the earliest times, especially in view of the many varying conceptions and

4 See "The Maṇimēkalai Account of the Sāṅkhya," *Journal of Indian History*, VIII, pp. 322-327.

explanations of it in the history of its sister system, the Advaita Vedānta. The illustration of the potter's wheel, however, seems hardly to be apposite to the sense conveyed in Paramārtha's commentary. The whole question of release while yet embodied is worth further investigation. In the meantime, we have here a divergence of Paramārtha, on a cardinal point of doctrine, from Māṭhara.

(*c*) Some minor points of difference may also be noticed : (1) Under verse 13, the co-operation of the three *guṇas*[5] is explained by Paramārtha on the ground that since they *pertain to one identical soul,* and are not independent, they are capable of acting together. There is nothing corresponding to the words italicised, in the Māṭhara-Vṛtti, or indeed in the commentaries of Gauḍapāda or Vācaspati.

(2) In explaining the function of the senses as *ālocana-mātram* Paramārtha seems undecided as to the interpretation of it as *bare* awareness or *unique* awareness. "The eyes", he says, "only see forms and that is the function of the eyes. It is only a perception incapable of discernment or handling. The other organs too act only on their respective objects."[6] Māṭhara definitely understands *unique* awareness, the sense implied in the third of the sentences quoted from Paramārtha.

(3) The dispositions that are *sāṁsiddhika* are explained by Paramārtha as those acquired by good deeds performed in a prior existence.[7] Māṭhara and Gauḍapāda take it to mean *cognate* (*saho'tpanna*), and instance dispositions cognate with the divine sage, Kapila, *in the first creation.* These could not have been produced by earlier acquired merit; indeed, such dispositions are classified as *prākṛtika* by Gauḍapāda.

(4) Both Paramārtha and Māṭhara give lists of teachers that intervene between Pañcaśikha and Īśvara-Kṛṣṇa, but the lists are not identical, nor can they be identified, as suggested by Dr. Belvalkar. Paramārtha names Hokia, Uluka, and Po-poli, while Māṭhara mentions Bhārgava, Ulūka, Vālmīki, Hārīta, Devala, *and others,* (Devala-prabhṛtīn). Even if we identify Bhārgava with Hokia, and Po-poli with Devala, there are at least

5. *sattvam laghu prakāśakam iṣṭam upaṣṭambhakam calam ca rajaḥ* | *guru varaṇakam eva tamaḥ pradīpavac cārthato vṛttiḥ.* ||
6. Verse 28.
7. Verse 43.

two other names, Vālmīki and Hārīta, for whom there are no equivalents in Paramārtha's list. One of the strong points of Dr. Belvalkar's thesis is thus very insecurely founded.

II

(*a*) In explaining the phrase *kaivalyārtham pravṛtteś ca*,[8] Māṭhara, like the author of the *Jayamaṅgalā*, takes the activity (*pravṛtti*) to be that of Prakṛti. Not so Paramārtha, who agrees with Gauḍapāda (and Vācaspati) and expatiates on the futility of *our efforts* to secure release, if bodies alone existed.

(*b*) *Ādhyātmika tuṣṭis*[9] are understood by Paramārtha as internal contentments produced by the intellect, individuation and *manas*; they *relate to* nature, means, time and luck. Māṭhara, who agrees with Vācaspati, says that they *concern* the self and are *called* nature, means, time and luck.

There are also a few other such instances of agreement between Paramārtha and Gauḍapāda. In view of the many points of resemblance between the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti* and Gauḍapāda's bhāṣya on the one hand and that Vṛtti and Paramārtha's commentary on the other, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion of their reciprocal dependence. But the differences noted above would seem to stand in the way of accepting any one of them as the original of the others. It is more likely that all three derive from a common original.[10] It is not unlikely that the commentary translated by Paramārtha, which must have been of some antiquity, was itself the original drawn upon in various ways and at various dates by both Māṭhara and Gauḍapāda.[11]

8. Verse 17.

9. Verse 50.

10. See Keith, *The Sāṅkhya System*, p. 70 *fn.*

11. In a paper contributed by Prof. Umesh Misra to the Sixth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, on "Gauḍapāda's Bhāṣya and the Māṭhara-Vṛtti" the writer seeks to make out that the latter is a very late work written after the 10th century A.D., perhaps after the 13th century. Though one may not subscribe to this conclusion, it is difficult not to agree with the writer in his view that the dependence of Gauḍapāda on Māṭhara is not proved. The existence of a 73rd verse in the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti*, not found in any other commentary, is strongly suggestive of the lateness of the former. But the argument is not conclusive; for, even the 72nd verse, in the present writer's opinion (not to mention the 63rd verse, referred to in the text of this paper) seems to be an interpolation, though it is found in all commentaries except Gauḍapāda's.

III.

Two distinctive points in the *Suvarṇa-Saptati* deserve notice. (*a*) What is verse 63 in the *Kārikā*, as known to us, finds no place in the Chinese version. The omission of this verse does not cause any break in the transition of thought from verse 62 to verse 64. The first of these states that the Spirit is in truth never bound, but that it is *Prakṛti* that is bound and migrates. This is the final truth; by the contemplation of this, we are told in verse 64, there results perfect wisdom which leaves nothing to be known, which is pure and absolute. Between these two verses, there is no need to say that *Prakṛti* binds itself through seven dispositions and liberates itself through one. How the bondage is effected has been set forth already. A verse like the present would find its most appropriate place, if at all, after verse 54, which is the last verse treating of the *guṇas*. From verse 55 onwards we are told of the misery which is of the nature of the things and of the functioning of *Prakṛti* towards the release of the Spirit; and there is a natural transition from verse 62 to verse 64, which is not helped in any way by verse 63. It is true, as both Tilak and M. Takakusu point out, that the sense of the verse finds support in *Sāṅkhya-Sūtras*, but this is not conclusive evidence of the genuineness of the verse. It may be that it was grafted on later, on the strength of the *Sūtras*. The grafting should have been done before the time of Māṭhara, Gauḍapāda and Vācaspati. This is not impossible, as it has not been proved that none of the Sūtras in their present form was known to the commentators.[12]. If, then, we decide to drop out verse 63, we are left with seventy-one verses of the usually recognised 72. Of these, the last verse need not have been composed by Īśvara-Kṛṣṇa. It is obviously a reply to some hostile criticism of the scope and value of the work. This character it shares with verse 73, which is seen only in the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti*. The reply may have anticipated the criticism, but it may well have come later too. The latter hypothesis has this further advantage, besides its being the more natural one: on the Chinese computation, if verse 72 be left out, as a later addition, we are left with only 70 verses, which make the *Saptati* complete, the last verse ending with *"saṅkṣip-tam āryamatinā samyagvijñāya siddhāntam."* The view here

12. *See* "The Antiquity of the Sāṅkhya Sūtras" *Proceedings of the Oriental Conference*, Lahore.

urged is not implausible. But one at least of the difficulties it has to meet is Tilak's conjectural verse based on the commentary on verse 61. as set forth by Māṭhara, Gauḍapāda, and Paramārtha. The exposition of Paramārtha, however, has here an advantage which is worth noticing.

(*b*) The verse starts with the *sukumārataratva* of *Prakṛti* which is explained by Paramārtha as subtlety (delicatesse). The commentaries of Māṭhara and Gauḍapāda pass on abruptly from this to a discussion of Īśvara, time, svabhāva etc., as causes of the world. It is this abrupt change of topic that strongly suggests a missing verse of the kind conjectured by Tilak. The transition, however, is more easy in Paramārtha's account. This is how it goes. "Thus, in the world, a man sees a woman endowed with excellent qualities; then he sees another woman, who is the most excellent of all; he thinks 'she is the most excellent and she is unrivalled'. In the same way, Nature is the most delicate (subtle) of the twenty-four principles. How do you know that ? Because she does not bear one's gaze (is invisible). One may object: this view is not correct, because the isolation of the soul does not come about from seeing Nature. For, the preceptor who considers Īśvara to be the cause of the world says, 'the soul ignorant and separated from Nature contents itself with joys and sorrows; Īśvara alone can send it to heaven or hell'. Because of this, Nature (?)[13] cannot be liberated even when the soul has seen Nature. The subtleness of Nature cannot be proved." Then commences the discussion of Īśvara etc. It is too much to say that there is nothing unnatural or out-of-the-way in the discussion of these topics. But, as Paramātha introduces them, they seem far less unnatural. In any case it allows us to suspect a *tour-de-force* on the part of some early commentator instead of fathering a verse upon Īśvara-Kṛṣṇa. The relative merits of the two hypotheses—supplying a lost *kārikā* or cutting out some possibly spurious ones—will have to be examined later in some detail. But there is no doubt of the fact that Paramārtha's version of the commentary on verse 61 makes much better sense than the *Māṭhara-Vṛtti*, which is claimed to be the original thereof.

13. This looks absurd, as it stands, for it is not Nature that is liberated. Is it a slip on the part of M. Takakusu ?

*MADHYAMĀRTHASAṄGRAHA OF BHĀVAVIVEKA.

(Restored from the Tibetan Version with an English Translation.)

BY

PANDIT N. AYYASWAMI SASTRI, LECTURER IN SANSKRIT,
Ayurvedic College, Mylapore, Madras.

The Madhyamārthasaṅgraha which is ascribed to Ācārya Bhavya Viveka (legs-ldan-hbyed) or popularly known as Bhāva-Viveka by Tibetan translators is a short treatise consisting only of 11 *anuṣṭup* verses on the nature of the Double Truth as accepted in the Mādhyamika system of Buddhist philosophy. I have not been able to get any evidence other than the colophon of the work itself to attribute this work to Bhāva Viveka and until the contrary is proved we may regard him as the author. In his work, the author has presented in a nut-shell the nature of the two realities *viz.*, the *empirical* and the *absolute* (*saṁvṛti* and *paramārtha satyas*) with their classifications. The Satya Siddhi School founded by Harivarman, which constitutes the stage of a transition between Hīnayānism and Mahāyānism[1] was the first to introduce into Buddhist philosophy the doctrine of the Double Truths.[2] Nāgārjuna, the first to systematise the Mādhyamika School, insists that these twofold truths are very important and without knowing them one cannot realise the deep real import of Buddha's teachings:—

येऽनयोर्न विजानन्ति विभागं सत्ययोर्द्वयोः ।
ते तत्त्वं न विजानन्ति गम्भीरं बुद्धशासने ॥

(Nāgārjuna's Mādhyamika Kārikā XXIV. 9).

In the present treatise Bhāva Viveka has done the classification (*vibhāga*) hinted in the above Kārikā. The same has been done

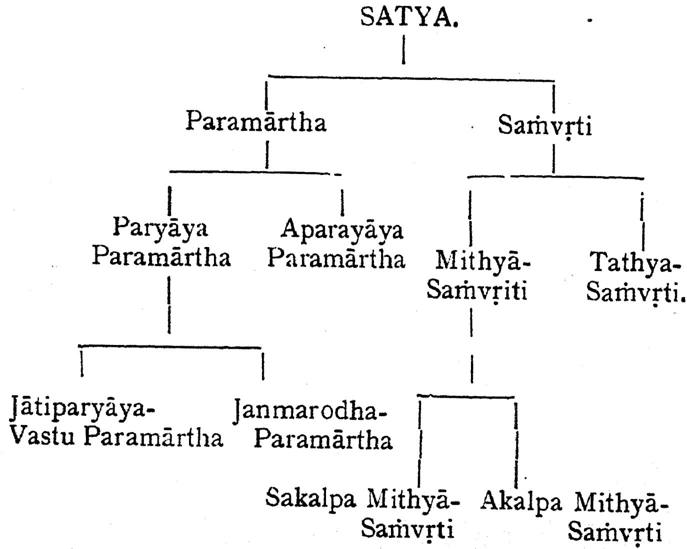
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* Submitted to the sixth All-India Oriental Conference, Patna—1930.

1. Yamakami Sogen : System of Buddhist Thought p. 173 (1912).

2. P. L. Vaidya: Aryadeva et son Catuh Sataka. Introduction page 19 (Paris, 1923).

by Candrakīrti in his Madhyamakāvatāra which will be taken into account later on for comparison This table below will explain the classification of Truth made in the Madhyamārtha-saṅgraha:—



Now Bhāva Viveka asserts that the category of *aparyāya paramārtha* in the above Table represents the absolute reality, which cannot be specified (*aparyāya*) and explaining it, says in verse No. 6 that it is above every possible determination (*sarva-prapañcavarjita*) and it is neither existent nor non-existent, nor both at once, nor neither. This kind of explanation of the *absolute* reminds us of the well-known credo of the Mādhyamikas:—

न सन्नासन्न सदसन्न चाप्यनुभयात्मकम् ।
चतुष्कोटिविनिर्मुक्तं तत्त्वं माध्यमिका विदुः ॥

a verse attributed to Ācārya Sarahapāda by the compiler of the Subhāṣitasaṅgraha.

Paryāya paramārtha (the absolute that can be specified) our author subdivides into *jāti paryāya vastu paramārtha* (the absolute that can be specified as a kind of *Jāti* = *Kārya*[1] = production and the *janmarodha paramārtha* (the absolute which is the complete extinction of all manifestations). As no light is thrown

1. Compare the Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra (Kyota, 1928) p. 186. Verse 72.
कार्यकारणदुर्दृष्ट्या सर्वे तीर्थ्या विमोहिताः ।
अतस्तेषां न मोक्षोऽस्ति सदसत्पक्षवादिनाम् ॥

by the author on the former, he seems to have included in it the views of the Tīrthikas such as Sāṅkhyas etc.

Bhavya explains *janmarodha paramārtha* by saying that (the Hīnayānists maintain that) the visible world is produced out of four conditions (*pratyayas*) and has the four limits[1] (*koṭi*) *viz.*, (1) Birth and Death (2) Immortality and Annihilation, (3) Existence and Non-existence, (4) Phenomenon and Voidness, and that the extinction of its manifestation is the absolute truth. Nāgārjuna tells us that these four conditions are the following:—*hetu*, *ālambana*, *anantara*, and *adhipati*.[2] This classification into four varieties of conditions, we are told[3], belongs to Sarvāsti-Vāda School of Hīnayāna Buddhism and its followers are characterised as co-religionists[4] (*svayūthyas*) by Bhāva Viveka and Candrakīrti. The central conception of the absolute in the schools of early Buddhism *e.g.*, the Sarvāsti-Vāda School, is that "When all manifestations are stopped all forces extinct, remains the lifeless residue. It is impersonal, eternal death, and it is a separate element, a reality, the reality of the elements in their lifeless condition.[5]" But the Sautrāntikas, on the contrary, denying the lifeless substance of Nirvāṇa maintain that "It is the absolute end of manifestations, the end of passion and life (*kleśajanmanoḥ kṣaya*) without any positive counterpart[6]". It is, therefore, possible that Bhavya brings under the category of *janmarodha paramārtha* the views of the Sarvāsti-Vādins and those of Sautrāntikas.

Saṁvṛti satya (empirical truth) the author defines as the world as it appears to our eyes. This is again divided into empirical truth which is real (*tathya saṁvṛti* = T. S.) and empirical truth which is unreal (*mithyā saṁvṛti* = M. S.). T. S. is confined to those worldly objects which are capable of producing useful results. M. S. refers to those apparent objects which are incapable of being useful. This is again divided into *sakalpa* M. S. and *akalpa* M. S. *Sakalpa* according to the author

1. Śaracchandra Das, Tibetan Dictionary, p. 968.
2. Mādhyamika Kārikā. I. 2. (B. B. IV).
3. Th. Stcherbatsky : Buddhist Nirvāṇa. p. 194. n. 6. (Leningrad, 1927).
4. Prajñāpradīpa, p. 24. (B. I.) and Prasannapadā, p. 76 n. (B. B IV).
5. Th. Stcherbatsky, op. cit. p. 27.
6. *Ibid.* p. 29.

is the misapprehension of a snake in the rope (lying in the dark) while *akalpa* signifies the perception of double moon (in the sky by a man suffering from an eye disease). It must be admitted that the criterion on which such a distinction has been drawn by the author is difficult to explain satisfactorily. This much can, however, be said that in the former case the mistaken notion of a snake in a rope is considered to be *sakalpa* M. S., because it imposes the attributes of a snake which are absent there on the existing rope on account of some similarity between the snake and the rope; while in the latter case, the perception of double moon in the sky is called *Akalpa* M. S. because no imposition of anything that is absent is made on the existing moon, as in the former case, but simply a second moon is imagined.

In fine, Bhavya winds up his classification saying thas all the truths can be condensed into two broad heads referred to above.

It is interesting to compare this classification with that of *Candrakīrti* in Madhyamakāvatāra[1]. According to him the absolute truth is only of one kind[2] and cognisable only by those who have right knowledge (*samyagdṛśa*). The empirical truth is what ordinary people (*pṛthagjana*) think of. Since there is a distinction between the ordinary men of perfect sense-organs (*susthendriya*) and those of defective sense organs (*duṣṭendriya*), he makes a similar distinction in the sphere of their knowledge. The sphere of knowledge relating to the laymen with perfect sense organs, Candrakīrti calls empirical truth of the world (*loka saṁvṛti*) or sound empirical truth *samyak saṁvṛti*), because it is true so far as the wordly affairs are concerned. But of the ordinary people with defective sense-organs, the cognitive activities, such as perception of hair in the sky and of the water in the mirage etc., are untrue even with regard to worldly affairs and so they go by the name of unworldly or unreal empirical truth (*aloka* or *mithyāsaṁvṛti*). It is worthy of note that among the conditions (*pratyaya*) of defects of sense-organs (*indriyopaghāta*) he includes the thesis (*siddhānta*) established by the unwise (*asat*) and fallacious inferences

1. Chapter VI. 23 and the following (B. B. IX) and the restored Sanskrit text of the 6th Chapter (in course of publication in the Madras Oriental Series No. 4, as a supplement to the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. III, Part 4).

2. Madhyamakāvatāra, p. 119, L. 16.

(*anumānābhāsa*) and so on. Then speaking of examples of *aloka-saṁvṛti* in verse No. 26, he says that whatever is constructed by Tīrthikas being influenced by slumber of ignorance (*ajñāna middha*) according to their caprice and whatever is imagined in the mirage (by fools) are not at all true even from the wordly standpoint of view and therefore are illusory. We learn from his Bhāṣya thereon that the Tīrthikas referred to are Sāṅkhyas and others. It is not, however, easily ascertainable as to who are alluded to by Candrakīrti while using the term *anumānābhāsa* along with the conditions of defects relating to the mind. Probably he alludes there to the *svatantrānumāna* School of Mādhyamikas expounded by Bhāva Viveka whom he violently attacks in his Prasannapadā very often on the score that all the *anumānas* set forth by Bhavya to establish the absolute prove fallacious.

It is evident, anyhow, that Candrakīrti classifies *saṁvṛti satya* into two :—*tathya-saṁvṛti* and *mithyā-saṁvṛti* and brings under the latter category the views of the unwise (*asat*= Tīrthikas) which Bhavya includes probably in the category of *jātiparyāyavastu paramārtha* and that the *mithyā-saṁvṛti* is not brought into two classes again as is done by Bhavya in the present treatise. Now the question naturally arises as to the category in which the co-religionists, *viz.*, Hīnayānists and Vijñānavādins[1] have been placed in this classification. Candrakīrti boldly asserts that all the Vādas of *ālaya-vijñāna, pudgala,* 5 *skandhas,* and 18 *dhātus* are intentionally introduced by Buddha only as a means of realising the undefinable absolute (*anakṣara-tattva*) by the ordinary folk. It is to be finally pointed out from the above comparison that Candrakīrti betrays his fervent Buddhist faith by a categorical denial of even worldly reality to the Tīrthika views, whereas Bhavya is liberal in bringing them under the *absolute*.

For the Tibetan, I have made use of the Narthang Edition in the Śāntiniketan and Adyar Libraries. A copy of this was kindly sent to me by the General Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal duly corrected after comparison with a more legible Narthang Edition accessible to him. The original Sanskrit text of the Madhyamārthasaṅgraha has unfortunately been lost to us as is the case with many similar ancient Sanskrit works on Buddhist philosophy, and my humble effort has been to restore

1. *Ibid.* VI. 43.

from the Tibetan translation, the original in Sanskrit, as set forth below.

RESTORED SANSKRIT TEXT.

॥ मध्यमार्थसंग्रहः ॥

॥ नमो भगवते श्रीसमन्तभद्राय ॥

ये हि जिना विदितानुत्पादत्वेऽपि [1]व्यवहारमुखपूर्णकरुणया [2]संसृति-सहस्रे सुखेन लोकरक्षणायेह प्रतिपन्ना अपि निर्मलमतयस्तानहं सदा प्रणमामि ॥

यथार्थं सत्यद्वितयं प्रतिबोधयितुं पुनः ।
प्रारभ्यते मया हीयं बुद्धानां धर्मदेशना ॥ १ ॥
परमार्थः संवृतिश्च सत्यद्वयं समासतः ।
परामार्थो निष्प्रपञ्चः कर्तव्यो द्विविधः स च ॥ २ ॥
पर्यायपरमार्थश्चापर्यायपरमार्थकः ।
स च स्यात्प्रथमो द्वेधा [3]जातिपर्यायवस्तु च ॥ ३ ॥
परमार्थो जन्मरोधः, परार्थो रुद्धजन्मकः ।
भू(=जनि) [4]रोधादिचतुष्कोटिर्दृश्यभावोऽखिलोऽपि च ॥ ४ ॥
चतुष्प्रत्ययजातयः सः, [5]सर्वप्रपञ्चवर्जितः ।
स तु पर्यायरहितो विज्ञेयः परमार्थतः ॥ ५ ॥
सत्कोटिश्चाप्यसत्कोटिर्द्वियसर्वविवार्जितः ।
एतादृक् परमार्थो हि, यथाभासं तु संवृतिः ॥ ६ ॥
द्विविधा सापि विज्ञेया मिथ्याभूता च संवृतिः ।
तथ्या हि संवृतिश्चेति वस्त्वर्थकरणक्षमम् ॥ ७ ॥
तथ्यसंवृतिरूपं हि, दृश्यमर्थक्रियाऽक्षमम् ।
मिथ्याभूता संवृतिः स्याद्विज्ञेया द्विविधा च सा ॥ ८ ॥

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1. Tib. ṅo = मुख ?

2. Tib. ḥkhor-ba-ma-stoṅ-ba = संसृतिसहस्र ? It is difficult to explain the particle 'ma' here. I take it to be a final particle denoting feminine gender (*See* Sard Chandra Das Dictionary under 'ma'). So I have translated the word 'ḥkhor-ba-ma' as संसृति.

3. *See* p. 42, and note 1.

4. Compare Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra (Kyoto, 1923) p. 152, Verse 20: कारणैः प्रत्ययैश्चापि येषां लोकः प्रवर्तते । चतुष्कोटिकया युक्ता न ते मन्नयकोविदाः ॥ *Vide* also, p. 43.

5. cf. p. 42.

स कल्पाकल्पयुग्मेन सकल्पाऽहिग्रहो गुणे[1] ।
शशिद्वयग्रहोऽकल्पा······················[2] ॥ ९ ॥
तेन सत्यं द्विधा सर्वं सामस्त्येन तु दृश्यते ।
उपादाय तदर्थं हि सर्वो प्राप्नोति सम्पदम् ॥ १० ॥
एवं नाम मया प्रोक्तो मध्यमस्यार्थसंग्रहः ।
कल्याणो यः स सत्त्वस्य साधयत्वाशु चिन्तितम् ॥ ११ ॥
इत्याचार्यभव्यविवेककृतो मध्यमार्थसंग्रहः समाप्तः ॥
लोत्सवशीलराजेन परिवर्त्य शोधयित्वा निर्णीतः ॥

TIBETAN VERSION.

RGYA. GAR. SKAD. DU| MADHYA. MĀ. RTHA. SAM. GRA. HA| BOD. SKAD. DU| DBU. MAḤI DON. BSDUS. PA||

bcom. ldan. ḥdas. dpal. kun. tu. bzaṅ. po. la. phyag. ḥtshal. lo||

gaṅ. dag. skye. med. rtogs. pa. ñid. yin. yaṅ. tha. s̄ñad. ṅo. gaṅ. sñiṅ. rjes. ḥkhor. ba. ma. stoṅ. bar| rgyal. ba. rnams. ni. ḥjig. rten. bde. bar. bskyab. paḥi. phyir| ḥdi. ru. shugs. kyaṅ. dri. med. blo. daṅ. ldan. de. dag. rnams. la. rtag. tu. bdag. phyag. ḥtshal. lo||

1. *bden. pa. gñis. ni. ji.lta. buḥi| don. ni. rtogs. par. bya. baḥi. phyir|*
bdag. gis. ḥdi. ni. rab. brtsams. te| saṅs. rgyas. rnams. kyis. chos bstan. pa||

2. *bden. pa. gñis. su. ḥdus. pa. ste| don. dam. daṅ. ni. kun. rdsob. po|*
dam. paḥi don. ni. spros bral. te| de. yaṅ. rnam. pa. gñis. su. bya||

3. *rnam. graṅs. kyi. ni. don. dam. daṅ| rnam. graṅs. ma.yin. don. dam. mo|*
daṅ. po. de. yaṅ. gñis. yin. te| rigs. rnam. graṅs. don. daṅ||

4. *skye. ba. bkag. paḥi. don. dam. mo| mu. bshi. skye. ḥgog. la. sogs. paḥi|*

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1. For the explanation and difference of these two *saṃvṛtis*. *See* p. 44.
2. Here the gap is conjectural.

gtan. tshigs. bshi. yi. rigs. pa. de| snaṅ. baḥi. dṅos. po. thams. cad. kyaṅ||

5. *skye. ba. bkag. paḥi. don. dam. mo| spros. pa. thams. cad. kyis. stoṅ. pa|*
de. ni. rnam. graṅs. ma. yin. paḥi| dam. paḥi. don. du. śes. par. bya||

6. *yod. paḥi. mthaḥ. daṅ. med. paḥi. mthaḥ| gñis. po. thams. cad. spaṅs. pa. ste|*
de. lta. bu. na. don. dam. mo| kun. rdsob. ji. ltar. snaṅ. ba. yin||

7. *de. yaṅ. gñis. su. śes. bya. ste| log. pa. yin. ni. kun. rdsob. daṅ|*
yaṅ. dag. pa. yi. kun. rdsob. po| don. byed. nus. paḥi. dṅos. po. ni||

8. *yaṅ. dag. kun. rdsob. shes. bya. ste| snaṅ. yaṅ. don. byed. ma. nus. pa|*
log. pa. yin. ni. kun. rdsob. po| de. yaṅ. gñis. su. śes. bya. ste||

9. *rtog. bcas. daṅ. ni. rtog. med. gñis| rtog. bcas. thag. pa. la. sbrul. ḥdsin|*
rtog. med. zla. ba. gñis. ḥdsin. paḥi|

10. *des. na. thams. cad. bden. gñis. su| ḥdus pa. ñid. bstan. par bya|*
de. don. ñams. su. blaṅs. nas. ni| phun. sum. tshogs. pa. thams. cad. thob||

11. *dbu. ma. yi. ni. don. bsdus. pa| de. ltar. bdag. gis. bśad. po. yi|*
dge. ba. gaṅ. des. sems. can. gyi| bsam. pa. myur. du. ḥgrub. gyur. cig||

dbu. maḥi. don. bsdus. pa. slob. dpon. legs. ldan.
ḥbyed. kyis. mdsad. pa. rdsogs. so||
lo. tsha. ba. tshul. khrims. rgyal. pas.
bsgyur. ciṅ. shus. te. gnas.
la. phab. paho||

ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

I offer my eternal salutations to those Buddhas (Jinas) who, although they have realised the truth of *anutpatti* (of *dharmas*), appeared in thousands of the empirical existences in this world through commiseration towards worldly affairs and who, even then, retained the pure wisdom.

I commence the teaching of the *dharmas* expounded by Buddhas to make known to the world the Double Truths in their real connotation.

Truths, in brief, are twofold *viz.*, empirical and absolute (*saṁvṛti* and *paramārtha*). The absolute is above expression.

It is divided as the Absolute that can be specified (*paryāya*) and the Absolute which cannot be so specified (*aparyāya*). The former is again divided into *jāti paryāya vastu paramārtha* (The absolute that can be specified as a kind of *jāti* = Production) and *janmarodha paramārtha* (The absolute which is the complete extinction of all manifestations). The visible world is produced out of four conditions (*pratyaya*) and has four limits (*koṭi*) *viz.*, birth, death etc. and the complete extinction of it is called *janmarodha*. The *real absolute* (in the author's opinion) is above every possible determination and it is neither existent nor non-existent, (nor both at once, nor neither).

Saṁvṛti (empirical Truth) is what appears to our eyes. It is divided into real (*tathya*) and unreal (*mithyā*). The former is (confined to) those worldly objects which are capable of producing useful results and the latter refers to those apparent objects which are incapable of being useful. *Mithyā saṁvṛti* is again divided into *sakalpā* and *akalpā*. The former is (when) a misapprehension (arises) of a snake in a rope (lying in the dark), and the perception of a double moon (in the sky by a person suffering from eye-disease) constitutes the latter.

Thus, all the truth, in brief, is, therefore, taught as divided into two classes as said above. Having understood this teaching, one obtains all prosperity. May the summary of the essential principles of Mādhyamika system made by me procure to all beings what they desire.

DATE OF MURAÑCIYŪR MUṬINĀKARĀYAR.

BY

DR. P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, M.A., L.T.,

Assistant Editor, Tamil Lexicon, University of Madras.

Murañciyūr Muṭinākarāyar is the author of the second stanza in *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, one of the eight ancient anthologies in Tamil Literature. He blesses the Cēra king *Peruñcōṟṟutiyañ-cēralātaṉ* with long life along with his able and sincere counsellors unthwarted like the Himalayas and the Mt. Potiyil where the deer warm themselves with their young ones at the fire-triad on which *Agnihotra* is performed by Brāhmins both morning and evening. Before wishing him long life he refers to him as forgiving in nature as the earth, wide in his counsel as the sky, strong as the wind, fierce as the fire and sweet in his grace as the water, and to the vastness and fertility of his kingdom.

It is worth noting that, in this stanza, mention is made of the four Vedas[1], the fire-triad[2], and the debt[3] (to gods) in the shape of *Agnihotra*.

This *Muṭinākarāyar* is mentioned to have been one of the poets of the First Sangam by *Nakkīraṉār* in his commentary under the first sūtra of *Iṟaiyaṉār-Akapporuḷ*.

But the expression '*nī......niliyar*' found in this second stanza of *Puṟanāṉūṟu* stands against that conclusion. For the word *niliyar* which means 'may live long' is in the potential mood (*viyaṅkōḷ*) and has here for its subject '*nī*' (the second personal pronoun singular). Tolkāppiyaṉār, the author of Tolkāppiyam, (the earliest extant grammar of the Tamil language) who is mentioned by the same *Nakkīraṉār* to have lived in the Middle Sangam period definitely states that a verb in the potential

(1) *Nāal vētaneṟi.*

(2) *Muttī.*

(3) *Kaṭaṉ:* cf. Jāyamāno vāi brāhmaṇas tribhir *ṛṇavā* jāyate, brahmacaryeṇa ṛṣibhyo yajñena devebhyaḥ prajayā pitṛbhyaḥ (Taittirīya-Samhitā, 6).

mood cannot have for its subject either *the first personal pronouns* or *the second personal pronouns*[1]; while the author of *Naṉṉūl* who lived much later states that such a verb can have for its subject *all kinds of nouns and pronouns*[2]. This clearly shows that the use of *viyaṅkōḷ* verb with the first and the second personal pronoun for its subject was a later development. If so, Muṭinākarāyar should have lived later than Tolkāppiyaṉār. If it is a fact that the latter lived during the Middle Sangam, the former could not have lived during the First Sangam.

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1. *Avaṟṟuḷ,*
   Munnilai tanmai y-āyī r-iṭattoṭu.
   Mannā tākum viyaṅkōṭ kiḷavi. (Tol. Collatikāram, 226).
2. *Kayavoṭu ravvoṟ ṟīṟṟa viyaṅkōḷ*
   Iyalu miṭam-pā l-eṅku m-enpa. (Naṉṉūl, 338).

GRAMMATICAL METAMORPHOSIS OF THE TAMIL NOUNS KAṬAI, VAYIN̲ AND KĀLAI.

BY

DR. P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, M.A., L.T.,

Assistant Editor, Tamil Lexicon, University of Madras.

The words *kaṭai*, *vayin̲*, and *kālai* were originally nouns, the first two denoting place and the last denoting time. Eventually they have become the seventh case-suffixes if they follow nouns and verbal participial suffixes if they follow relative participles. The process through which such a metamorphosis has come may be learnt from an examination of the following expressions:—

A.

(1) மூன்றலங்கடையே
Mūn̲r̲alaṅ-kaṭaiyē (Tol. El̲ut. 1 and 62).[1]

(2) ரழவலங்கடையே
Ra-l̲a-valaṅ-kaṭaiyē (*ibid.* 30).

(3) நவ்வலங்கடையே
Na-v-valaṅ-kaṭaiyē (*ibid.* 72).

(4) இயையாக்கடை
Iyaiyā-k-kaṭai (Kur̲aḷ, 230).

B.

(1) மொழிவயினான
Mol̲i-vayin̲-ān̲a (Tol. El̲ut. 57, 143, 417).

(2) ஆவயினான
Ā-vayin̲-ān̲a (*ibid.* 148, 200, 240, 284, 292, 296, 315, 320, 438).

(3) பொருள்வயினான
Poruḷ-vayin̲-ān̲a (*ibid.* 481; Tol. Col. 95, 100).[2]

(4) வயின்றொறும்
Vayin̲-r̲or̲um (Perum. 133)[3].

(5) வயின் வயிற்பெருகுவிர்
Vayin̲-vayir̲ per̲ukuvir (Cir̲u. 163)[4].

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1. Tol. = Tolkāppiyam ; El̲ut. = El̲uttatikāram.
2. Col. = Collatikāram.
3. Perum. = Perum-pān̲-ār̲r̲u-p-paṭai.
4. Cir̲u. = Cir̲u-pān̲-ār̲r̲u-p-paṭai.

(6) உயர்திணைத்தொகைவயின்
Uyartiṉai-t-tokai-vayiṉ (Tol. Col. 94).

(7) பொருள்வயின்
Poruḷ-vayiṉ (*ibid.* 105).

C.

(1) அஃகாக்காலையான
A.ஃkā-k-kālai-y-āṉa (Tol. Eḻut. 40).

(2) வரூஉங்காலையான
Varūuṅ-kālai-y-āṉa (*ibid.* 399, 430).

(3) புணருங்காலையான
Puṇaruṅ-kālai-y-āṉa (*ibid.* 432).

(4) பண்பில்காலையும்
Paṇpil-kālai-y-um (Porunar 237)[1].

(5) வருகாலை
Varu-kālai (*ibid.* 305, 317, 451, 455).

(6) தெரியுங்காலை
Teriyuṅ-kālai (*ibid.* 13, 22).

(7) வரூஉங்காலை
Varūuṅ-kālai (*ibid.* 311, 464, 471).

(8) தோன்றுங்காலை
Tōṉṟuṅ-kālai (*ibid.* 446).

(9) செருக்கொடு நின்ற காலை
Cerukkoṭū niṉṟa kālai (Porunar. 89).

In the first *three* examples of *A*, *kaṭai* means 'place' and is a noun, since it cannot be the seventh case-suffix after '*al*' the negative particle.[2] The expressions *mūṉṟalaṅkaṭaiyē*, *ralavalaṅkaṭaiyē* and *navvalaṅkaṭaiyē* respectively mean '*in places* other than the three', '*in places* other than *r* and *ḻ*', and *in places* other than *n*.' One may doubt how the word *kaṭai* is construed as a noun in the seventh case in the absence of the seventh case-suffix. The answer is that the seventh and the second case-suffixes may be dropped in nouns even though such nouns come after the verbs which they qualify[3]. Hence in all the above cases the seventh case-suffix *kaṇ* is understood. The same is the case with '*iyaiyā-k-kaṭai*' in *A* (4). *Iyaiyā-k-kaṭai* stands for *iyaiyā-k-kaṭai-k-kaṇ* where *kaṭai* is a noun denoting place and

1. Porunar. = Porunar-āṟṟu-p-paṭai.
2. '*am*' in *al-aṅ-kaṭaiyē* is only a *cāriyai*.
3. *Aiyuṅ kaṇṇu m-allā-p poruḷ-vayiṉ*
Mey-y-urupu tokāa v-iṟuti y-āṉa. (Tol. Col. 105).

has its seventh case-suffix dropped. But later on it seems that this rule was not paid due attention and the word 'kaṭai' itself was construed as the seventh case-suffix if it followed a noun[1] and a suffix of the verbal participle if it followed a relative participle[2].

The same is the case with the word '*vayiṉ*'. In examples 1 to 3 under *B* it is clear that it is a noun since it is followed by the case-suffix *āṉ*. It must be noted here that *āṉ*, though an instrumental suffix, is used in the locative sense. In the examples 4 and 5 *vayiṉ* is evidently a noun since the expression *vayiṉ-ṟoṟum* and *vayiṉ-vayiṉ* means in every place. In the examples '*uyartiṉai-t-tokai-vayiṉ*' and '*poruḷ-vayiṉ*', it is evident that *kaṇ*, the locative suffix has been dropped; but now the word *vayiṉ* is taken to be the locative suffix since it follows the noun *tokai*.

The noun '*kālai*' has the same history. In examples 1 to 3 under *C*, *kālai* is evidently a noun denoting time since it is followed by the case-suffix *āṉ*. The same is the case in example 4 since it forms the second member of the compound *paṇpil-kālai* which means 'the occasion when good character was absent.' But in examples 5 to 9 under *C* the locative suffix *kaṇ* is evidently understood after *kālai*. In that case the words *teriyum*, *varum*, *tōṉṟum* and *niṉṟa* are all relative participles qualifying the word *kālai* which stands for *kālai-k-kaṇ*. But now *teriyuṅkālai* etc. are taken only as verbal participles meaning *teriyumpoḻutu*' etc. It seems that such a method of interpreting a relative participle followed by a noun in the seventh case with the case-suffix being understood, as a verbal participle was in existence even at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār[1].

Hence the words *kaṭai*, *vayiṉ* and *kālai* and similar words denoting place and time are now construed as the locative suffixes if they follow nouns and as the verbal participial suffixes if they follow relative participles, both the relative participle and such a noun together becoming a verbal participle, while originally they should have been nouns.

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1. Kaṇ *kāl kaṭai* iṭai talai vāy ticai *vayiṉ* (Naṉṉūl, 302).
2. *Piṉ-muṉ kāl-ka-ṭai vaḻi-y-iṭat t-eṉṉum*
Aṉṉa marapiṟ kālaṅ kaṇṇiya
Eṉṉa kiḷaviyu m-avaṟṟiyal piṉavē. (Tol. Col. 229).

ANCIENT BHṚGUS.

BY

A. PADMANABHAYYA, PLEADER, TIRUPATI.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY:—

No word of apology is necessary to justify the claim of an account of the ancient Bhṛgus or Bhārgava sages—seers and singers *par excellence* upon the valuable time of the readers of this thesis.

The claim of this ancient mythical and mystic race upon the attention of the learned public arises primarily from the fact of their intricate and interesting connection with the early history and culture of all ancient civilized races—both Semitic and Āryan—a division which is purely conventional from the point of view of early culture. From a close study of the 10th Chapter of the book of Genesis of the Bible, the reader must find that the distinction is more apparent than real. Sumerian, the Phœnician and the Hittite are often a stumbling block.

The famous account of the excavations in the Sindh valley, of Sir John Marshall followed by an account of the ancient Asuras of our Literature by Mr. Banerjee Sastri, impels me to urge on the attention of scholars not only the claims of the Ancient Asuras, but also of their priests and seers, the ancient Bhṛgus—whose accounts abound in our Vedas, Epics and Purāṇic literature.

The Bhṛgus supply the connecting link between the Semitic and the Āryan element. Their account unravels many points of comparative mythology, religion and philology. In fact—the "Bhṛgu" will supply the key to understand many of the underlying strata of the early civilisation of the world, unearthed by the labours of Western Scholars in ancient Aegean area, Mesopotamia, Egypt and Persia. We shall also be in a position to understand many of the missing links in the chain of connec-

tion between the old pre-Āryan or proto-Āryan religion and the various religious beliefs of North and South India and their intimate connection with the culture and religion of ancient Iran.

Ragozin, in his Vedic India, shows the intimate relationship between the Dekhan and the Chaldean country and urges the theory of the conquest of Northern India by the Dravidians or the Turanian race, and their eventual entry into the Dekhan along with the Kolarians. But that scholar did not consider who these Dravidians are, and how they were related to the Āryans or the Iranians and does not assign to them any definite place among the Āryan or Semetic races.

Some historians indefinitely class these early Dravidians along with the *Dasyus* and aboriginal races—all with a view to give the later Āryan a greater prominence. The Dravidian races represent the pre-Āryan Iranian people and they are closely related to the ancient Asuras—a forgotten name. Remnants of its greatness being preserved, internal evidence in our sacred literature reveals to us their existence, and their once world-wide importance. These Dravidians are the first civilized race to enter our country by the sea along with the Asura Yadus and Ikṣvākus and the evidence of our literature identifies them with the ancient Bhṛgus—thus making possible, from the point of view of South Indian history, the equation Draviḍa = Asura = Bhṛgu. We shall try to amplify this equation by reference to the history of countries outside India in the sequel. The amplified equation will be Asura-Bhṛgu-Dravidia-Pelasgian-Phygian-Hittite Phoenician-Greek-Etruscan-Latin-Frank.

CHAPTER II

SOUTH INDIA.

The Bhṛgus in India, may now be said to present all the South Indian races placed under the common designation of *Agnikulas.* They are the Śātavāhanas, the Vākāṭakas, Kohls, the Ikṣvākus, the Nāgas, Kadambas, Pallavas, the Colas, Pāṇḍyas, Keralas and the Caḷūkyas who rose to prominence at some stage or other of South Indian History till the 12th Century A. D.

Fire is the God of the Bhṛgus, and Brahmā is their ancestor. This ancestry is not only apparent from the account of the Bhṛgus in the Epics but also from the inscriptions giving the genealogy of these races—particularly from the suffix *Varman*

appended to the names of the Kings of these races—which means nothing more than-Brahmā or fire.

The west coast of South India—is according to traditional account, the land carved out of the sea by Paraśurāma the noblest scion of the race. The Bhṛgus entered South India by the west coast. The traditional era Kollam in the Malabar country, accounts of many an ancient shrine in South India and traditional folklore, all point to the wanderings of this race throughout the length and breadth of South India from the banks of Narmadā to Kanyā Kumārī.

Tne Chief sources of our knowledge of the Bhṛgus are (1) Ṛg Veda (2) Atharva Veda (3) Purāṇas—particularly the Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, Matsya and Kūrma (4) the Rāmāyaṇa (5) and the Mahā-Bhārata. The Bhṛgus are the collectors of a major portion of the Ṛg Veda; the Atharva is purely their own lore. The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa and the two epics, from the evidence in these works themselves, owe their compilation to this mystic race. External evidence is to be sought for in the histories of the Hittites, Medo-Persians, Etruscans and Latins, Greeks and pre-Greek races, and the races of the Aegean area, Asia Minor, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Afghanistan and Baluchistan.

III.

What is the cradle of this race? What is their connection with the Dravidian race?

The Ṛg Veda is the earliest relic of ancient Āryan literature. There are statements in that Veda which declare the existence of earlier traditions. According to the opinion of competent scholars, many portions of the Atharva Veda are even earlier than the Ṛg Veda. These statements lead us to the belief of the existence of a time, when the Āryan and the proto-Āryan were one—whatever that term may mean for the present.

The Purāṇas are the collections of the layman's learning or folklore and they must be Sanskritised versions of pre-Sanskrit accounts as borne out by the statement in the Matsya-Purāṇa—that the first branch of knowledge which emanated from Brahmā is the Purāṇa and this Purāṇa is the Ādi Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa of which the Viṣṇu or Parāśarasaṁhitā is a redaction. The two epics, from their internal evidence, at their inception owe their origin to the inspiration given to their authors by Brahmā and their reputed authors are Bhārgavas. It is from the Purāṇas and

the epics therefore that we must expect to get a full account of their compilers.

Before dealing, therefore, with the Vedic and other evidence we shall deal with the Purāṇic evidence and try to trace the cradle of the race.

The Purāṇas, deal with the geography of what are called the seven Dvīpas. To understand the history of the Bhṛgus, we must locate some of these Dvīpas and among these Dvīpas, Plakṣa Kuśa Dvīpas—Śālmali and Krauñca show evident traces of their activities. The Kuśa Dvīpa and a portion of Plakṣa is their original cradle.

According to the Kūrma Purāṇa the Brahman, or, the first caste of the Kuśa Dvīpa are worshippers of Brahmā and are called Dravidians. Let us, therefore, try to locate the Kuśa Dvīpa first.

According to Ragozin[1] the Dravidians are Nāgas, worshippers of the sacred serpent, the symbol of the earth. According to Professor Monier Williams[2] the Dravidians or Dravidian races came from Central Asia, and their language shows they were Turanians. They are the Vrātya or out-caste Kṣattriyas. We have thus to find out what is this Nāga country and who are these Vrātyas. Vrātya, like Asura, assumed a degraded meaning only in later literature.

IV

KUŚA-DVĪPA.

In spite of the elusive nature of the ethnological details given for this Dvīpa in the various Purāṇas, there are sufficient materials whereon we could depend, and identify the same with portions of modern Persia. There is a remnant of the name of this Dvīpa preserved in the modern province of Kuzistan, on the Persian gulf. That it formed part of Modern Persia and extended therefrom as far as the Wertern limits of Baluchistan admits of no doubt.

Kuzistan is the ancient land of Elam—a country which played a very prominent part in the early annals of Babylon Chaldæa. It is in this country that Herodotus places the original cradle of the Phœnician race, and the Phœnicians are the

1. Vedic India, page, 308.
2. Indian Wisdom—page 312 note.

ancient Ikṣvākus whose connection with the Vāsiṣṭhas a branch of the Bhṛgus is apparent from the Purāṇas and the Epics. The Bhṛgus and Vāsiṣṭhas are descendants of Varuṇa and it is in Elam we have to locate Varuṇa, the Asura *par excellence*, the first God to whom worship was being paid by the proto-Āryans. More will be said about this later on. Suffice it to say for the present that Sushan, capital of Elam, is the city of Varuṇa according to the Matsya Purāṇa.

"सुषा नाम पुरी रम्या वरुणस्यापि धीमतः ।"

There is also an Elamite God referred to in one of the sculptural representations by Mr. C. W. Johns in his book on Babylon. A God catching his enemies in a net and beating them with a club reminds us of Varuṇa and his noose.

According to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa the island is so called from a clump of Kuśa grass situated in the island. The people are worshippers of Brahmā which is the same as fire or Īśāna as indicated by the other Purāṇas. The residents of Plakṣa and Puṣkara are also worshippers of Brahmā, and it appears to me that the scheme of the seven Dvīpas mentioned in the Purāṇas represents the ancient Scheme of Zoroaster and Ahurmazda—*viz.*, the seven divisions of light peopled by those who follow the teaching of Ormuzd. The names of Kings and their sons are mostly names of the Fire God, Brahmā; the fire God, or, the Atharvan of the Bhṛgus, is the Atar of the Zoroastrians Cyavana Bhārgava is the special protegee of the Aśvins. His descendants —the Raivatas founded Kuśasthalī (later Dvārakā) on the west coast of India. Very early Zoroaster is referred to by Berosus as one of the earliest Kings of Babylon and Ahurmazda of Zoroaster is probably the Mada Asura raised by Cyavana to fight Indra in the struggle to give the Aśvins a share in the Soma drink.

Triśaṅku is one of the earliest Ikṣvāku Kings according to the Purāṇas. Purāṇic accounts mention a Manu Priyavrata, or, Satyavrata, a Draviḍeśvara, as a hero of the flood. Triśaṅku is also known as Satyavrata and he is Tissanki mentioned in the accounts of the Hittites, as Tissenki or King of Paraśu or Persia in one of the earliest list of Hittite Kings[1]. The God of the flood according to the account in the Mahābhārata Vanaparva is Brahmā—the God of the Bhṛgus. From a comparison of the

1. J. R. A. S. 1928 April A. H. Sayce.

flood account as given in the Indian, Persian and Babylonian accounts, one is certainly led to infer that the three accounts refer to the adventures of one and the same hero a Dravidian or Asura emperor, a protegee of Brahmā or Varuṇā the God of the Asuras. Sayce places the cradle of the Hittites in a land which he calls Kussara.

According to the Persian account, the great flood took place during the times of the mythical Jamgid (Djemshed). According to the Babylonian account, the hero of the flood is Sit Napistam in whom we may trace Yama or Yima or Engid the first mortal to be immortalised—Vaivasvata Manu. The Bhṛgu Jamadagni is a descendant of this hero. In fact the genealogy of the Bhṛgus as given in the Mahā-Bhārata includes Manu and Jamadagni in the list.[1] Paraśurāma, the last hero of the list is closely connected with Syamantapañcaka—the later Kurukṣetra. The ruby Syamanta connected with Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Satrajit is known in the Persian accounts as the Ruby of Shamshid and it may be Jamgid.

The Kuśikas and Bhṛgus are closely allied races and they are related to the Ikṣvākus in more than one respect. The designation of this island is said to be due to a clump of Kuśa grass found in the island. Kuśa is holy grass. Scholars impute the name of the island to the tribe of Susians and Cuthites. The Purāṇic writer had in his mind, the clump of sacred grass used in sacrifices to the fire God Brahmā. This grass is called in Persian history Baresma. The ancient land of Elam, is the home of the Phœnicians the sons of Cush and also of the Ikṣvākus, particularly of the line in which Rajarṣi Janaka was born. A clump of Kuśa grass is the symbol of a brother of this Janaka known as Kuśadhvaja. Rama's eldest son is called Kuśa from his maternal line. He was brought up by Vālmīki who is Kuśin. The Elamite Eri Aku is Āryaka, the ancestor of Kunti, mother of Pāṇḍavas and her Nāga ancestry is apparent from the account of Bhīma and Pātāla in the Mahā-Bhārata.[2] The patron of Kuntī is Durvāsas, who is called *Kusaarani.* All the Kuru names in the Maha-Bhārata are mostly names of Nāgas and Nāga Kings and the account of the Bhārata is merely a traditional internecine struggle of Nāga and allied races in the

1. *See* Ch. 66 Adi Parva, Ch. 15 Vanaparva.
2. Adi. Ch. 128.

ancient land of Elam and Pātāla the kingdom of Vāsuki, and Śeṣa, the Nāga *par excellence.*

Another important race of this island are the Kuśikas-descendants of Gādhi and Viśvāmitra. The Kuśikas are admittedly related to the Bhṛgus through Satyavatī, the daughter of Gādhi married to Bhārgava Ṛcīka.

We shall next proceed to an account of the Plakṣa and after fixing the cradle proceed to the dispersion of this race towards the east and west and incidentally consider an account of Śālmali, and Krauñca Dvīpas and the colonies of the Kuśa Dvīpa.

V

PLAKṢA-DVĪPA.

According to the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, this Dvīpa is named after a Plakṣa or holy Fig tree sacred to Brahmā—evidently a totem tree of the races residing therein. Medhātithi is the King of the country. Medhatithi is the son of Āṅgirasa-Kaṇva. The details given in the Purāṇa give us sufficient data to identify the island of Plakṣa with the western portion of modern Persia, to the north of Kusistan as far as the middle of Trans-Caucasian country.

According to some other Purāṇas followed by Professor Dawson in his dictionary of Hindu mythology, the name for this land is Gomedha. It is also known as Śveta-Dvīpa according to the geographical account given in the Bhīṣma-Parva of the Mahā-Bhārata.

From Plakṣa proceeded the Bhṛgu Phrygian and the Pelasgian. Pre-Greek Pelasgian is traceable to Plakṣa and not *vice versa.*

Now about the identity. The seven districts of the island as given in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa are—

1. Śāntabhavya.
2. Sukhodaya.
3. Ānanda.
4. Śiva.
5. Kṣemaka.
6. Śiśira.
7. Dhruva.

Among these districts—Kṣemaka appears to be clearly ascertainable. Ṣema or Kṣemaka lies in Trans-Caucasia, where one Ṣemaka is the capital of the Khanat of Shirwan, and was known

to Ptolemy as Kamachia. Śiva is probably referable to a district of which Śivas (Sebastum) was probably the centre, situated on the river Kizil Irmak (ancient Halys). Dhruva is Troas. According to Lempriere's classical dictionary "Troas when taken for the whole Kingdom of Priam, may be said to contain Mysia and Phrygia Minor". The connection of Troas with Plakṣa-Dvīpa and the Bhṛgus will be traced hereafter through Phrygia and the Phrygians. Śiśira is traceable to the city of Kaisiriyeh capital of Capadocia, within 20 miles of which passes, the river Halys, or Kizil Irmuk. Among the rivers mentioned Amṛta is the river Sefd Rud falling into the Caspian sea. It is also called Amenda. The division Amenda is called after the ancient city of Anti[1] and appears also to be referrable to the Goddess Amendph worshipped there. Amendph is a name of Ishtar. The river Śikhī is the upper portion of the river Tigris. Sukhodaya is the country of the tribe Sukhī mentioned in Assyrian history. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa mentions Śāntabhavya as situated in two parts. Nahvada shown therein is the country of Nahrain and Somaka is in the division shown in modern maps to the west of the Caspian Sea.

Now to come to the names Gomedha and Kumuda and Śweta as applied in whole or in part to this Dvīpa. The country of Gomedha is mentioned in the history of the ancient Assyrians. We read in the pages of the Historian's History of the World Mesopatamia page 375 "His son Shalmanesar about 1300 B. C. was one of the mightiest Assyrian Kings. He ruled over Mesopotamia westward to the Belikh at least if not to the Euphrates and assured to Assyria, the possession of northern tract between the Euphrates and the Tigris which was afterwards the province of "Gumathene" and "Sophene". One of the heroes of the famous Argonautic expedition is Cometes from whom probably the name Gometes or Cometes is derived. This tract in thus part of the ancient Median country conquered by the Assyrian Monarch from Media. Gomedha is Surabhi and the Kalpa tree and that is why probably the Fig tree is called the Fig of the Cow or Gomedha.

My idea is that Media is called after this Medi or Plakṣa—the Fig Tree. Medi is a Dravidian Telugu word which means a Fig Tree and even to-day there is a variety of the Fig Tree in

1. *See* old map in ruins.

South India, called Brahma Medi or the Fig Tree of Brahmā. The statement in the Skānda Purāṇa that the (Fig) tree called Gomedha gave the name to the island is perfectly reasonable and after all it is merely a linguistic confusion. There is another Dravidian word for Fig (Atti) to which we have to make reference in the sequel. The Matsyạ Purāṇa mentions a division of the island called Kumuda. A scholar in the Journal of the Mythic Society finds fault with the Purāṇic writers and says there is confusion between Kumuda and Gomedha. He identifies Kumuda and Gomedha with the Commodorum of the Greeks basing his arguments chiefly on the precious stone Gomedha procured there. Kumuda is according to Matsya-Purāṇa a district of Gomedha, and the Purāṇic writer makes no confusion at all. Kumuda is a lily and northern Sushan, or the lily country, is in the south of Caspian and is a portion of Plakṣa or the Median country. Suṣan in Hebrew means lily. Hebrew, Aramiac, and Dravidian, are all allied languages and Kumuda is Sanskrit of the same. Susiana or Sushan is Kumuda. There are two Suṣans in Medo-Persia and one is only a colony from the other and both are countries of ancient Ikṣvākus who are allied to the Bhṛgus. The same writer in the mythic Journal of the Mythic Society, 1926, derives the word " Plakṣa " from Palasgian and identified the Dvīpa with the country in ancient Greece covered by Epirus, Macedonia, and Thessaly. The learned Scholar does not consider whence the Palasgians entered these countries. The real case is that the Palasgians entered Greece from Plakṣa-Dvīpa and the word Palasgian comes from Plakṣa or the Fig Tree. The descendants of the Palasgians, a race of Fire Worshippers, are brothers in blood to the Bhṛgus and Median Fire Worshippers had also a Fig totem. A Fig tree overshadowed the cave of the ancient founders of Rome in the Wolf's Cave and the great consternation felt when the Tree of Ramulus was destroyed is referred to by a writer of the art on Tree Worship in the Encyclopaedia Brittanica, 13th Edition. Nathaniel under the Palasthenian Fig Tree is equally another case in point.

The Fig tree is certainly the totem of the Bhṛgus. The varieties of the *Ficus Religiosa* and *Ficus Indica* are both sacred trees for the Bhṛgus. They are popularly known as Aśvattha and Vaṭa and the names given to them by the lexicographer indicates to us the importance which this tree was wielding over the religious beliefs of the people. We read in the Mahā-Bhārata

Vanaparva, Chapter 115, the importance of these trees. Bhṛgu the father-in-law of Satyavatī directs the mother of Jamadagni to embrace the Udumbara fig tree to beget a religiously inclined son and asks the wife of Gādhi to embrace the Pippal or Aśvattha to beget a heroic son. In our sacred literature the Aśvattha is the tree of the Kṣatriyas and it is only later on it became particularly the Bodhi or the tree of the wisdom of the Buddhist; hence it is later on called also Vipra or the tree of the sage, though it is known as Kṣatriya tree. It is also called Satya namely the tree of the Satī or Kṣatriyas, or Asura Hittites whom the Egyptian records call Satī. It is also called Yakṣāvāsa the abode of the Yakṣas, the followers of Kubera. Yakṣas are Hyksos and their God is Kubera Nara-vāhana. Kubera is Hittite God and it is that God we find represented in the sculptures of Boghazkiu Hatti standing on the shoulders of tl e priests.[1]

The Aśvattha thus represents the virile power of the Universal God and also His Omniscient Wisdom. That is why it is called Pippal. Pippal is traceable to Vipra, a Vedic word meaning" Inspiring". Vipras are a specially inspired people and the Mahā-Bhārata Vana-Parva particularly places the origin of the Vipras on the banks of Devikā, a river in the ancient land of Elam now called Tib.

अथ गच्छेत राजेन्द्र देविकां लोकविश्रुताम् ।
प्रसूतिर्यत्र विप्राणाम्..................॥

Ancient Elam is thus the land of the Vipras and also of Varuṇa whose capital is Sushan, and who according to the conceptions of all religions,—Bhṛgu-Dravidian-pre-Āryan Medo-Persian, Assyrian, is the highest god. According to to Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, Pulastya is the finest king of Vīranagara on the river Devikā.

Another name for Plakṣa Dvīpa is Śveta or white. This designation is very important as this Purāṇic and Epic name finds ample corroboration in the history of Mesopotamia and the Hittites.

The designation of Śveta given in Ch. 12 of Bhīṣma-Parva of Mahā-Bhārata certainly refers to the ancient Kingdom of

1. *See* picture at page 112. Hittites. Story of a forgotten empire A. H. Sayce.

Ellipi, with its ancient capital of Ecbatana on the ruins of which arose the later Medo-Persian empire. The Historians' History of the World[1] says " North east of Assyria, and extending to the southern shores of the Caspian was the ancient Kingdom of Ellipi, with its capital Ecbatana, the Achmetha of the Bible. Of its fortunes we get a glimpse now and then in the course of Assyrian history." Now the word Ellipi in Dravidian means white and Śvetha-Dvīpa means, the land of white people. We have a reference to a white people in this country and also in the surrounding country of Cappadocia, whose inhabitants are called by the Greeks, the Leuco-Syri or the white Syrians, and these are admittedly, the ancient Hittites. The Goddess Lakṣmī is worshipped by the Phrygio-Cappadocians under the designation of Ma. She is the same " Bhārgavī"-" Ma " who is believed to have risen out of the sea, like " Apphrodite" and that sea must be the sea of Shirwan or Caspian Sea, later on Sanskritised into Kṣīra-Sāgara or the sea of milk.

It is from this country of Ellipi, probably Lebanon in Palestine is named. Lebanon is the country of Phœnicians, allied to the Hittites, and the Philistines. Lebanon is otherwise known also as Albion or white country, a name later on adopted by the colonists from Ellipi. Rome is alban and Britain is the island of Albion and we find Albania in the Crimean Peninsula.

In the Uttara Rāmāyaṇa we read of Rāvaṇa's defeat at the hands of the women of Śveta-Dvīpa. This land is the country of the Amazons of the Greek writers. This island is, according to the Epic, on the shores of Kṣīrodadhi or the sea of milk. The writer of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa knew the ancient land of Elam and it is that which he calls Plakṣa. Plakṣa and Kuśa Dvīpas are interrelated and that is why we find one Sushan in the north and another in the south. The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa says that the people in the island of Plakṣa offer sacrifices to Ātman. Now the ancient Elamites[2], offered worship to Lagamal and Ātman, the secret title of Susinak or Ishunak. Who this God Ātman is and how he is connected with Egypt, another land of Cush, we shall consider under a separate chapter later on. Another word which we have got to consider in connection with the tree totem of the Bhṛgus is Atti (అత్తి). *Atys*, *Attis* or *Attes* in the Lydian, and

1. History of Persia, page 585.
2. *See* E. B. 9th Edition, Art on Elam.

Phrygian mythology is a youth beloved for his beauty by the Goddess Rhea, called there Agdistis. The story as told at Pessinus, the centre of the worship of the goddess, was that by Zeus she gave birth to a being born male and female and that the Gods displeased transformed this being into a tree from the fruit of which the daughter of the River God Sangarius bore a boy who grew up amongst herdsmen, marvellous for his beauty so as to win the love of Agdistis.[1] This account of the transformation of the son of Rhea into a tree is an indication of the worship of this tree totem in ancient Phrygia. This tree represents the male principle of life—as Phallus and is identical with Baal Peor, or Brahmā the Creator.

The holy fig tree is referred to in the Ṛg Veda (I—135-8). The vessels to hold the Soma juice are prepared from it to add virility or power. Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar in his Age of the Mantras at page 127 says " it is the symbol of the Śiśna or Fire-drill and corroboration for this is to be found in Mr. Griffith's Atharvaṇa Veda, Book V, Hymn 11, page 250. The beautiful Attys is Agni the young (Tanūnapāt) and Agni according to the literature and traditions of all countries is the producer of life. Fire represents not only individual life or soul but also cosmic or universal soul. The writer of the article on " Fire' in the Encyclopaedia Brittanica 9th Edition has given a succinct and beautiful resume of all the aspects of the worship of this God and I cannot put the matter better than quoting the learned writers' words. " For a long time through out all the world, the ancient naturalists who meditated on the greatest wonder of physiology supposed that the generation of fire by the friction of two woods, one of harder and the other of softer substance was the exact counter part of human generation. The heat thus involved was held to be of most subtle nature, a flash of the astral light, an intelligent substance. Primary fire impregnated primary water and the soul was born. Life was compared to a torch and no comparison is more true. Modern chemistry having proved that animal life was a constant burning of oxygen, the ancient myth was not far from truth when it said that Prometheus animated the figure of clay by putting into it a spark of fire. Man was thought to be an alloy of fire, earth, water in slightly different proportions. Fire, a constituent part

1. *See* account of Attys in Eucyclopaedia Brittanica 9th Edition.

of divine creation, became a soul when it was immersed in organic matter; it became the body when it was put into organic clay."

Attys thus represents the principle of generation and is equally the symbol of life and fire. The Atharvan Bhṛgus are children of fire—the word Atharvan itself can be resolved into Athar-bene child of Athar or fire. In Semitic-Dravidian Ben or Pen means child. Attys thus represents the God Brahmā, the first and foremost ancestor of the Bhṛgus according to the genealogy given in Chapter 66 of Ādi-Parva of Mahā-Bhārata. The word Attys added as a suffix to personal names in the ancient Lydian country and Phrygia, in the Purāṇic names—means the same thing as *Varmā* added to the names of kings in South India.

Thus far as regards the totem sacred tree of the Bhṛgus.

The word Atty and Medi-Dravidian in origin must give us the clue to understand the existence of Phallic worship and the worship of the *Yoni* in places outside the country of its origin, *viz.*, Plakṣa-Dvīpa and Kuśa-Dvīpa.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTICES AND REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

THE RUKMINIKALYANA MAHAKAVYA OF SRI RAJACUDAMANI DIKSHITA, Edited by the Pandits of the Adyar Library, Theosophical Society, Adyar, Madras.

This work, the publication of which has been begun by the Pandits of the Adyar Library, and of which two Sargas have now been printed with the commentary called Mauktikamālikā of Śrī Bālayajñavedeśvara, is well worth perusal by all students of Sanskrit literature. It belongs to that fruitful period of "creative art" in Sanskrit literature, namely, the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries after Christ close upon the dissolution of the great Vijayanagar Empire. This period witnessed a very healthy revival of Sanskrit learning under the patronage of the Viceroys of the Vijayanagar Empire, who, after the break-up of that Empire, set themselves up as independent rulers at Vellore, Penukonda, Gingee, Tanjore, Madura and other places. The renaissance was an all-round one, and comprised all the fine arts, religion and philosophy. Many were the famous personalities, who were the court poets of the chieftains, the most famous among them being Appayya Dīkṣita, under the patronage of Chinnabomma at Vellore. The author of this work, Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita, known also as Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, lived at the court of king Raghunātha Naick of Tanjore. In the valuable introduction to this work written by Mr. T. R. Chintamani, M.A., now Senior Lecturer, Oriental Research Institute, University of Madras, interesting information is given as regards many other works of this author, his patron, Raghunātha Naick, his ancestry and his family connection with the other famous Dīkṣitas of that period. The date of another of his works known as Tantraśikhāmaṇi, a treatise on Mīmāṁsā, is said to be 1636 A.D. according to a verse in that work. The work is styled a Mahākāvya, and one should naturally expect that it will fulfil all the characteristics of a Mahākāvya, as described by Ālaṅkārikas. It follows the model of Śrī Harṣa's Naiṣadhīya, in manner of treatment and in style. One must admit that the poetry is highly artificial and difficult. However, the author shows himself as a master of the

Sanskrit language and a profound scholar in the Śāstras and in the technique of Sanskrit poetry. Though the first Sarga has 105 Ślokas and the second 73, the story is not carried far. Many works of this period remain unpublished, and the endeavour of the Pandits of the Adyar Library is praiseworthy, especially as they provide easy access for the students of Sanskrit literature to the valuable works of one of the many illustrious poets and philosophers of this period, who, while occupying distinction in temporal affairs, maintained their ideals of Brahminhood, and attained great distinction in philosophy and literature. The printing and get-up leaves nothing to be desired. I would suggest to the Editors that it will be very helpful if they would append short notes in English towards the end of the work.

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AIYAR.

HISTORY OF PRE-MUSSALMAN INDIA (IN NINE VOLUMES) VOL. I PRE-HISTORIC INDIA BY PROF. V. RANGACHARYA M.A., Professor of Indian History Presidency College, Madras, Huxley Press, Madras. vii + 247 pages. Price Rs. 5 or sh. 7-6d.

The Volume under review is the first of a series of nine volumes which the author has planned, apparently on a very elaborate and ambitious scale. This volume forms a good introduction to the whole series, comprising as it does, a good deal of information regarding the geographical evolution of India, the appearance of the first man, the paleolithic age, the transition to the neolithic age, the neolithic age itself, the advent and use of metals, the civilization of the Indus valley; and finally the story of the entry of the Aryans.

In the first chapter the author refers to theories that are advanced by the geologist in accounting for the origin of the Earth's crust, with special reference to the Indian continent. The author here endorses the view of the geologist that South India is older than Northern India. In the second, we find references to theories regarding the first evolution of man. The author refers to the theories that regard Syria, Western Asia, Central Asia, Burma, Arctic Regions, Africa and India, as places where man first evolved. The author, agreeing with Sir Harry

Johnston, as may be naturally expected, says, that South India should be regarded as the place where man first originated. Sir Harry Johnston, in his "The Opening up of Africa" discusses the various theories regarding the birth-place of man and comes to the conclusion that the place of origin should be sought for either in Burma or South India. There seems to be a good deal of truth in this theory and probably we come upon certain definite proofs which will finally establish this thesis. In the next chapter, the author makes a rapid survey of the paleolithic remains in places like Madura, Trichinopoly, Salem, Mysore, Bellary, Cudappah, North-Arcot, Chingleput, Bhadrachalam, Cundlekhand, Dharwar, and few from Bengal. What little of the culture of the paleolith human being could be deduced from these remains, has been done by Bruce Foste and others and the author reproduces them all in the further portions of the chapter. It is also said that the germs of religious thoughts could be traced to those paleoliths. In the next chapter the origin of the so-called Dravidian is discussed. The theories of the Mongolian origin, of the Scythian, Turanian or Central Asian Origin, of the Semetic origin, of the Mesopotamian origin, of the Egyptian origin, and that of the Mediterranean origin are discussed. The last of these theories finds favour with the author in the next chapter. In chapter VI the author takes us through Neolithic sites in ancient India—sites like those found in Anantapur, Bellary, Karnool, Cudappah, Hyderabad, South Bombay, Gujerat, Kathiawar and Ceylon, and the author is of opinion that neolithic culture, wherever it is, is practically identical. The culture of the neolith takes up the major portion of the chapter. The origin and development of Dravidian Languages is also discussed in this chapter. The author refers to the conflicting views of Bishop Caldwel and Mr. R. Swaminatha Aiyar, but does not commit himself to any opinion on the question. In the chapter on the "Advent of Metals" the author refers to the so-called bronze, copper and iron ages and show how the bronze age was absent from India. The Indians discovered gold at a comparatively early age and were using it in various ways. In dealing with the Indus valley civilization and the discoveries in Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, the author is careful enough not to express any view, *i.e.*, whether it is Aryan or Dravidian. The last chapter brings down the history of pre-historic India to the beginning of the Aryan immigration into India. After referring

to the theories of the probable home of the Aryans, the author concludes that they could not have been autochthonous but should have come into India from their original habitat, which should be sought for somewhere between Bactria—Kashmir. The author closes with a statement of the views of European scholars like Max Muller, Keith, Macdonnel, and Winternitz, regarding the date of Vedic civilization.

On the whole, the volume under review is a useful book of reference, bringing together for the reader information contained in various places. It is hoped that the further volumes of the series will be equally, if not more, interesting as the one under review. The adoption of proper diacritical marks would enhance the value of the work to a large extent.

T. R. CHINTAMANI.

सचिवद्विजपौरयोषितां
वदनैः सन्ततबाष्पवर्षिभिः ।
नलिनीव विराजते पुरी
प्रचुरासारजलार्द्रपङ्कजा ॥

अध्यक्षः—आर्यस्य चिताप्रवेशश्रवणेन द्विगुणीकृतः प्रकृतिजनानां सन्तापः ।

हंस—[1]णिग्गदो भवणादो ।

यौग—भो हरिवर्मन् ! यावद्रुमण्वानागच्छति तावदस्यां नगर्यां अप्रमादेन भवितव्यम् ।

अध्य—अथ किम् ।

हंस—(एकतो विलोक्य) [2]अहो ! णअरं विअ जमुणादीरं संवुत्तं ।

यौग—साधु बहुजनप्रत्यक्षं नाम विचारणीयं भवति ।

हंस—[3]इदो चिदा ।

यौग—(विलोक्य) एषा हि—

विकसत्प्रचुरोल्लसत्स्फुलिङ्गा
पवनालोलशिखासहस्रकीर्णा ।
मदुपागमनं नृपाय वक्तुं
त्रिदिवं प्रेषयतीव धूम एति ॥

(परिक्रम्य) हंसक ! गच्छ त्वमिदानीम् । यौगन्धरायणो गतः स्वामिसमीपमिति रुमण्वन्तं ब्रूहि ।

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१. निर्गतो भवनतः ।
२. अहो ! नगरमिव यमुनातीरं संवृत्तम् ।
३. इतश्चिता ।

हंस—[१]अय्य ! तह (पादयोर्निपत्य साश्रुमुखो निष्क्रान्तः) ।

यौग—पुष्पं पुष्पम् ।

(प्रविश्य चाङ्गरिकाहस्तः)

चेटः—अय्य ! इदं पुष्पम् ।

यौग—(प्रगृह्य तामर्चयति)

चेटः—[२]सुणिस्समहं भट्टिणो मरणं ; पेक्खिदुं ण पारेमि । (रुदन्निष्क्रान्तः)

यौग—(आत्मगतम्) बद्धमिदानीं विद्यया जनानां चक्षुः । (प्रकाशम्) भोः । सर्वान् पौरान् विज्ञापयामि । यत्किञ्चिन्मे स्खलितं तन्मर्षणीयं भवद्भिः ! (चितां प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य) एष भोश्चितां प्रविशामि । (उल्लङ्घ्य परिक्रामति) (नैपथ्ये हाहाकारः क्रियते)

यौग—दिष्ट्या जनाः सर्वे वञ्चिताः । तथा हि—

केचिद्भूमितले यतन्ति विचरन्त्येके सहाहारवाः
　केचिन्मुक्तशिखा रुदन्ति विलपन्त्युद्बाहवः केचन ।
केचिद्ग्रावणि पातयन्ति च शिरः सर्पन्ति केचित्क्षितौ
　केचिद् घ्नन्ति करैरुरो मुहुरयं सिद्धप्रयोगो मम ॥

अतः खल्वहम्—

उन्मत्तवेषः सुखमुज्जयिन्यां
　भ्रान्त्वा यथाहं प्रतिपद्य कार्यम् ।
इहागमिष्यामि सहैव भर्त्रा
　विकासयन् पौरजनाननानि ॥

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१. आर्य ! तथा ।
२. श्रोष्याम्यहं भर्तुर्मरणम् ; प्रेक्षितुं न पारयामि ।

संप्रति हि—

उपागतं वमदिव दिङ्मुखैस्तमो
निशामुखं परभृतकर्णमेचकम् ।
परिक्षरत्तिमिरपरीतमम्बरं
शनैः शनैरवतरतीव मेदिनीम् ॥

(निष्क्रान्तः)

॥ इति तृतीयोऽङ्कः ॥

॥ चतुर्थोऽङ्कः ॥

(ततः प्रविशति डिण्डिकवेषो हंसकः)

हंस —ससमुद्दळे सळरुक्खसखुळासुणसिद्दणाअं धव्वधम्माधादेहाणं एक्केण विणा सएळोअं । (विचिन्त्य)अज्ज खु मए पअळाउज्जइणी परिब्भमिदा । मुहुत्तअं इमं सीसुदेपउळे विस्समिस्सम् । (परिक्रम्य) इदं मे........... ।*

*. एतावानेव भागः आदर्शे उपलभ्यते ।

19. இயற்கைப் பொருளை யிற்றெனக் கிளத்தல்.
Iyaṟkai-p poruḷai y-iṟṟeṉa-k kiḷattal.

Natural objects should be described by their distinguishing features.

Ex. nilam valitů (Earth is hard).
Nīr taṇṇitů (Water is cool).

20. செயற்கைப் பொருளை யாக்கமொடு கூறல்.
Ceyaṟkai-p poruḷai y-ākkamoṭů kūṟal.

In a sentence describing the change which an object has undergone, the word denoting that object should be followed by the forms of the verb 'āku' which means 'to become'.

Ex. Maṇ kuṭam āyiṟṟů (Earth became a pot).

21. ஆக்கந் தானே காரண முதற்றே.
Ākkan tāṉē kāraṇa mutaṟṟē.

The verb 'āku' is always preceeded by reason, if the reason for the change is given.

Ex. Eṇṇey peṟṟamaiyāṉ mayir nalla āyiṉa.
(Hair became better on account of the application of oil).

22. ஆக்கக் கிளவி காரண மின்றியும்
போக்கின் றென்ப வழக்கி னுள்ளே.
Ākka-k kiḷavi kāraṇa m-iṉṟiyum
Pōkkiṉ ṟeṉpa vaḻakki ṉ-uḷḷē.

Expressions with the forms of the verb 'āku' without giving the reason for the change are current in speech.

Ex. mayir nalla āyiṉa (Hair became better.)

23. பான்மயக் குற்ற வையக் கிளவி
தானறி பொருள்வயிற் பன்மை கூறல்.
Pāṉ-maya-k k-uṟṟa v-aiya-k kiḷavi
Tāṉ-aṟi poruḷ-vayiṟ paṉmai kūṟal.

When a speaker is sure of the *tiṇai* of the object he is talking about, but not of the *pāl*, he should use a plural verb of the particular *tiṇai*.

Ex. Āṇmakaṉ kollō peṇṭāṭṭi kollō iஃtō tōṉṟuvār?
(Is it man or woman that appears there?)
Orutti kollō palar kollō maṇalil viḷaiyāṭiṉār ?
(Is it one lady or many ladies that played on sands ?)
Oṉṟō palavō cey pukkaṉa ?
(Is it one or many that entered the field ?)

Note 1.—The need of this sūtra is this:—A person looks at an object or objects *at a distance.* He determines that it is a person, but cannot determine whether it is a male or a female. If he wants to ascertain it from another, what verb should he use in his question, *āṇpāl* verb or *peṇpāl* verb *?* This sūtra says that he should use *palarpāl* verb. Similarly if he determines that the object or objects at a distance are person or persons, but is not able to determine whether it is one or many, then too should he use the *palarpāl* verb. If, on the other hand, he determines that it is not a person or persons, but is not able to ascertain whether it is one or many, he should use a *palaviṉpāl* verb.

Note 2.—Iḷampūraṇar interprets the expression *'pāṉmayakkuṟṟa'* in the sūtra to mean *āṇpāl peṇpāl mayakkuṟṟa'* and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar *'āṇpāl peṇpāl mayakkuṟṟa, āṇpāl palarpāl mayakkuṟṟa,* and *peṇpāl palarpāl mayakkuṟṟa',* while the other two *'āṇpāl peṇpāl mayakkuṟṟa, aṇpāl palarpāl mayakkuṟṟa, peṇpāl palarpāl mayakkuṟṟa* and *oṉṟaṉpāl palaviṉpāl mayakkuṟṟa.'*

24. உருபென மொழியினு மஃறிணைப் பிரிப்பினும்
இருவீற்று முரித்தே சுட்டுங் காலை.
Urupeṉa moḻiyiṉu m-aḵṟiṇai-p pirippiṉum
Iru-v-īṟṟu m-urittē cuṭṭuṅ kālai.

When the speaker is not sure of the *tiṇai* of the object at a distance, he may use the word *urupù* (or its synonym) or the word *atu* when he denotes it.

Ex. Kuṟṟiyō makaṉō tōṉṟukiṉṟa urupù ?
(Is the form there, stick or boy ?)
Kuṟṟiyō makaṉō tōṉṟukiṉṟa atù ?
(Is that stick or boy ?)

Note 1.—This sūtra operates when there is confusion in *tiṇai,* while the previous sūtra, when there is certainty in *tiṇai* but confusion in *pāl.*

Note 2.—The expression *'urupeṉa moḻiyiṉum'* in the sūtra is interpreted by Iḷampūraṇar, Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār, to refer only to *tiṇaimayakkam.* But Cēṉāvaraiyar says that it refers to *āṇpāl peṇpāl aiyam* and *oṉṟaṉpāl palaviṉpāl aiyam* also. When there is only *āṇpāl peṇpāl aiyam,* the speaker may word his question *'āṉō peṇṇō atō tōṉṟukiṉṟa āḷ'* by using the word *āḷ* instead of *'urupù'* since he is sure that it is a person. As regards *'oṉṟaṉpāl palaviṉpāl aiyam'* it is unnecessary for the author to sanction it here, since the *a.·.ṟiṇai* noun *urupù* may be taken either as singular or as plural according to context.

Note 3.—For the expression *'aஃṟiṇai-p-pirippiṉum'* in the sūtra, the three commentators Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar give the example *'oṉṟō palavō cey pukka peṟṟam'*. Since *peṟṟam* is an *a.·.ṟiṇai* noun and hence may be taken both as singular and plural, the author need not sanction this usage. Teyvaccilaiyār, on the other hand, takes *'aஃṟiṇai-p-pirippŭ'* to refer to the word *'atu'*. For the words in *aஃṟiṇai* which have different forms in *oṉṟaṉpāl* and *palaviṉpāl* are *atu*, *avai*, *itu*, *ivai*, *utu* and *uvai*; since doubt may arise only about objects at a distance and since the words *itu*, *ivai*, *utu* and *uvai* are not generally used to denote them, *atu* and *avai* are the only two words that may be denoted by the expression *'aஃṟiṇai-p-pirippŭ'* here. Teyvaccilaiyār has mentioned only *atu* since such doubts arise more generally with single objects.

25. தன்மை சுட்டலு முரித்தென மொழிப
அன்மைக் கிளவி வேறிடத் தான.
Taṉmai cuṭṭalu m-urittеṉa moḻipa
Aṉmai-k kiḷavi vēṟiṭat t-āṉa.

The word *aṉmai*, denoting negation may take the gender of the ascertained object, though it (*aṉmai*) is used along with the word denoting the object other than the ascertained one.

Ex. (1) A-v-v-urupŭ kuṟṟi-y-allaṉ, makaṉ.
(That form is not a pole, but man.)
(2) Atu kuṟṟi-y-allaṉ, makaṉ.
(It is not a pole, but man.)

Note 1.—In the previous sūtra it has been said that, when one cannot definitely determine the nature of an object at a distance and doubts that it is one or the other, he may use the word *'urupŭ'* or *'atu'*. For example he sees an object at a distance and is not able to ascertain whether it is a male child or pole and hence he questions either himself or another *'atu kuṟṟiyō makaṉō?'*, or *'a-v-v-urupŭ kuṟṟiyō makaṉō?'*. The next moment he decides that it is a male child. At once he may say *'atu* or *a-v-v-urupŭ kuṟṟi-y-aṉṟŭ, makaṉ'* or, *'atu* or *a-v-v-urupŭ kuṟṟi-y-allaṉ, makaṉ'*, since the doubt clears immediately after he says *atu* or *a-v-v-urupŭ*. If he says *aṉṟŭ*, after *kuṟṟi*, such a usage need not be sanctioned since it is regular. If he says *'allaṉ'* after *kuṟṟi*, it has to be sanctioned since the subject *atu* or *a-v-v-urupŭ* is neuter-singular and *allaṉ* is masculine-singular. Such a usage is allowed since his doubt has been cleared and he

ascertains that the object is a male child immediately after he says the word *atu* or *a-v-v-urupŭ*.

Note 2.—The word *vēṟiṭattāṉa* is made up of *vēṟiṭattāṉ* the instrumental singular of *vēṟiṭam* and '*a*' the *cāriyai* which it takes if it is at the end of a verse, as is sanctioned by sūtra 108. But it gives the locative sense here. Iḷampūraṇar takes '*vēṟiṭattāṉa*' along with the word '*taṉmai*' and interprets them 'the quality (found) in the object other than the first mentioned one'; while Teyvaccilaiyār takes it along with '*aṉmai-k-kiḷavi*' and interprets 'the word of negation used along with that which is other than the ascertained object'. Both take '*taṉmai*' to mean the nature of the ascertained object'. Cēṉāvaraiyar takes '*taṉmai*' to mean '*aṉmaiyiṉ taṉmai*' and '*vēṟiṭattāṉa*' to mean the word denoting the object other than the ascertained one and gives the example '*ivaṉ kuṟṟi-y-aṉṟŭ, makaṉ*'. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar agrees with Iḷampūraṇar in the interpretation of the sūtra, but gives '*ivaṉ kuṟṟi-y-allaṉ*' as an example. This example as also the example given by Cēṉāvaraiyar does not seem to be appropriate, since the doubt of the hearer is cleared immediately after he hears the word *ivaṉ* which is an *āṇpāl* noun.

Note 3.—The importance of the particle '*um*' in '*cuṭṭalum*' clearly shows that such usage as '*atu* or *a-v-v-urupŭ kuṟṟi-y-allaṉ*' is rare and the general usage is '*atu* or *a-v-vurupŭ kuṟṟi-y-aṉṟŭ, makaṉ*'.

26. அடைசினை முதலென முறைமூன்று மயங்காமை
நடைபெற் றியலும் வண்ணச் சினைச்சொல்.
Aṭai-ciṉai mutal-eṉa muṟai-mūṉṟu mayaṅkāmai
Naṭai-peṟ ṟiyalum vaṇṇa-c ciṉai-c-col.

(In a group of words denoting a whole, its limb and the quality of the limb), the word denoting the limb invariably follows the adjective and preceedes the word denoting the whole.

Ex. Ceṅ-kāl-nārai vantatŭ.
(Red-footed crane came.)
Perun-talai-c-cāttaṉ vantāṉ.
(Large-headed Cāttaṉ came.)

Note 1.—The word '*mayaṅkāmai*' in the sūtra means *mayaṅkāmal* and is a verbal participle.

Note 2.—This sūtra enjoins the order of words denoting a whole, its part and the *quality of the part*. If the *quality of the*

whole is to be mentioned, the order to be adopted then does not come within the province of this sūtra. cf. *cen-nārai-k-kāl.*

Note 3.—The word *'vaṉṉam'* in the sūtra denotes quality. It is the *tadbhava* of the Skt. *varṇa.* Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar thinks that *vaṉṇa-c-ciṉai-c-col* is a technical name for the group of words denoting a whole, its limb and the quality of the limb.

Note 4.—The word *'naṭai'* in the sūtra is taken by Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṉāvaraiyar, and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar to refer to *speech* and not to *poetry*; but Teyvaccilaiyār takes it to refer to both.

27. ஒருவரைக் கூறும் பன்மைக் கிளவியும்
ஒன்றனைக் கூறும் பன்மைக் கிளவியும்
வழக்கி னாகிய வுயர்சொற் கிளவி
இலக்கண மருங்கிற் சொல்லா றல்ல.
Oruvarai-k kūṟum paṉmai-k kiḷaviyum
Oṉṟaṉai-k kūṟum paṉmai-k kiḷaviyum
Vaḻakki ṉ-ākiya v-uyar-coṟ kiḷavi
Ilakkaṇa maruṅkiṟ collā ṟalla.

The use of honorific plural to denote one person or one object is allowed only in speech and not in poetry.

Ex. Yām vantēm; nīyir vantīr; ivar vantār.

Note 1.—The honorific plural even with respect to *aḵṟiṇai* is *palarpāl* and not *palaviṉpāl.* On seeing a fox, one may say *'nariyār vantār'* and never *'nari vantaṉa.'*

Note 2.—Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar think that the expression *'ilakkaṇa maruṅkiṟ collā ṟalla'* is unnecessary since its purpose is served by the third line and hence it suggests that *uyartiṇai* may be used for *aḵṟiṇai* and *vice-versa* in certain cases. Cēṉāvaraiyar, on the other hand, thinks that the third line in the sūtra sanctions such a usage in speech and the fourth line prevents it in poetry. The use of *uyartiṇai* for *aḵṟiṇai* and *vice-versa* is taken by him by *taṉṉiṉamuṭittal,* the mode covering the related points by implication.

28. செலவினும் வரவினுந் தரவினுங் கொடையினும்
நிலைபெறத் தோன்று மந்நாற் சொல்லும்
தன்மை முன்னிலை படர்க்கை யென்னும்
அம்மூ விடத்து முரிய வென்ப.
Celaviṉum varaviṉum taraviṉuṅ koṭaiyiṉum
Nilai-peṟa-t tōṉṟu m-a-n-nāṟ collum
Taṉmai muṉṉilai paṭarkkai y-eṉṉum
A-m-mū v-iṭattu m-uriya v-eṉpa.

It is said that the four words *celavu, varavu, taravu* and *koṭai* are used in the first, second and third persons.

29. அவற்றுள்,
தருசொல் வருசொல் லாயிரு கிளவியுந்
தன்மை முன்னிலை யாயீ ரிடத்த.
Avaṟṟuḷ,
Taru-col varu-col l-ā-y-iru kiḷaviyun
Taṉmai muṉṉilai y-āyī r-iṭatta.

Of them the words *taravu* and *varavu* are used only along with the pronouns of the first and the second persons, *i.e.*, the verbs meaning *to give* and *to come* are respectively used, only when the recipient of the gift and the person approached are in the first or the second person.

Ex. Eṉakkū-t-tantāṉ (He gave it to me).
Niṉakkū-t-tantāṉ (He gave it to you).
Eṉ-ṉ-uḻai vantāṉ (He came to me).
Niṉ-ṉ-uḻai vantāṉ (He came to you).

30. ஏனை யிரண்டு மேனை யிடத்த.
Ēṉai y-iraṇṭu m-ēṉai y-iṭatta.

The remaining two (i.e., *celavu* and *koṭai*) are used along with the third person.

Ex. Avaṉkaṭ ceṉṟāṉ (He went to him).
Avaṟkū-k-koṭū (Give it to him).

Note 1.—Iḷampūraṇar takes all the four words *celavu, varavu, taravu* and *koṭai* in the sense of *giving*; while Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar take *celavu* and *varavu* respectively to mean *going and coming* and *taravu* and *koṭai* to mean *giving*.

Note 2.—Teyvaccilaiyār takes all the three sūtras, 28, 29 and 30, to be one. According to him the 28th sūtra deals with the opinion of the grammarians earlier than Tolkāppiyaṉār and the sūtras 29 and 30 deal with his own opinion. This view seems to be correct. One may then question whether it does not give room to *vākyabhēda* or sentence-split, since there are three complete sentences. It does not, since the three sutras are interpreted thus:—Of the four words *celavu, varavu, taravu* and *koṭai* which could be used with all the three persons in the

opinion of the grammarians, *taravu* and *varavu* are used along with the first, and the second, personal pronouns and the rest with the third person.

31. யாதெவ னென்னு மாயிரு கிளவியும்
அறியாப் பொருள்வயிற் செறியத் தோன்றும்.
Yāteva n̲-en̲n̲u m-ā-y-iru kīḷaviyum
Ar̲iyā-p-poruḷ-vayir̲ cer̲iya-t tōn̲r̲um.

The two (interrogative) pronouns *yātů* and *evan̲* are generally used in questioning about unknown objects.

Ex. Irāman̲ en̲r̲a cor̲kŭ-p-poruḷ yātŭ?
(What is the meaning of the word *Irāman̲?*).
Pacu en̲r̲a cor̲kŭ-p-poruḷ evan̲ ?
(What is the meaning of the word *pacu?*).

Note 1.—This sūtra sanctions the usage of both *yātŭ* and *evan̲* irrespective of the fact whether the object denoted by the word *poruḷ* is *uyartiṇai* or *aḵr̲iṇai.*

32. அவற்றுள்,
யாதென வரூஉம் வினாவின் கிளவி
அறிந்த பொருள்வயி னையந் தீர்தற்குத்
தெரிந்த கிளவி யாதலு முரித்தே.
Avar̲r̲uḷ,
Yāten̲a varūum vin̲āvin̲ kiḷavi
Ar̲inta poruḷvayi n̲-aiyau tīrtar̲kŭ-t
Terinta kiḷavi y-ātalu m-urittē.

Of them, the interrogative pronoun *yātŭ* may also be used in sentences where some doubts are to be cleared regarding the particulars of an object whose general features are known.

Ex. I-m-maraṅkaḷuḷ karuṅkāli yātŭ ?
(Among these trees which is *karuṅkāli ?*)
Nam-m-eru taintan̲uḷ keṭṭa erutŭ yātŭ ?
(Of our five bulls, which is the bull lost?)

Note 1.—From the previous sūtra one is inclined to think that *yātŭ* can be used only in questioning about *unknown objects.* This sūtra sanctions its use even in questioning about the *particulars of a known object.*

33. இனைத்தென வறிந்த சினைமுதற் கிளவிக்கு
வினைப்படு தொகுதியி னும்மை வேண்டும்.
In̲aitten̲a v-ar̲inta cin̲ai-mutar̲ kilavikkŭ
Vin̲ai-p-paṭu toku ti-y-i n̲-ummai vēṇṭum.

The particle 'um' should invariably be used after the *group of words* which qualify the verb, *i.e.*, immediately preceding the verb or the predicate where the subject of the verb is a *mutal* (word denoting a *whole*) or a *ciṉai* (word denoting a *part* of a whole) qualified by the word which mentions its exact number.

Ex. Paṉṉiru kaiyum pāṟpaṭa v-iyaṟṟi (Tirumu. 118)[1].

(Having placed all the twelve hands so that they might be in their proper places.)

Cēra-cōḻa-pāṇṭiyar mūvarum kūṭiṉar.

(All the three kings *Cēraṉ*, *Cōḻaṉ*, and *Pāṇṭiyaṉ* assembled.)

Kaṇ-ṇ-iraṇṭum kuruṭu (Both the eyes are blind).

Note 1.—Iḷampūraṇar reads in the sūtra *tokaiyiṉ*, while others *tokutiyiṉ*.

Note 2.—The word *viṉai* in the sūtra should be taken to mean the *muṭikkuñcol* or predicate.

Note 3.—Iḷampūraṇar and Teyvaccilaiyār interpret the expression *viṉai-p-paṭu-tokuti* as the collection of words preceding the verb or predicate. Hence according to them the word *tokai* or *tokuti* means here a *collection*. But Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar take it to mean the *number* which qualifies the verb or the predicate. Hence according to them the word *tokuti* means *number*. They, then according to their interpretation have to justify how the particle '*um*' is used in the expression *paṉṉiru-kai-y-um pāṟpaṭa v-iyaṟṟi* where *paṉṉiru*, the word denoting number qualifies, not the verb *pāṟpaṭa* but the subject *kai*, and *um* is not found immediately after *paṉṉiru*. Cēṉāvaraiyar explains it thus:—The words *paṉṉiru* and *kai* denote the same object. Hence *um* is used after the word *kai*. He says so perhaps through the analogy of the expression *dvādaśa karāḥ* (twelve hands) where the word *dvādaśa* means not twelve, but twelve objects. It is doubtful whether the word *paṉṉiraṇṭu* in Tamil denotes twelve objects when it is followed by a noun. Hence the interpretation given by Iḷampūraṇar on the phrase '*viṉai-p-paṭu tokuti*' seems to me better.

(1) Tirumu. = Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai.

Note 4.—It is advisable for the readers to note that the particle '*um*' is not found in the sentences *nāṉmaṟai mutalvar vantār* (Brāhmins versed in the four vedas came), *aintalai nākam ōṭiṟṟu* (the five-headed cobra ran); for the words denoting number in such sentences do not qualify *mutalvar* or *nākam* the subject of the verb, but only *maṟai* or *talai* the adjunct of the subject.

34. மன்னாப் பொருளு மன்ன வியற்றே.
Maṉṉā-p poruḷu m-aṉṉa v-iyaṟṟē.

The same is the case even with words denoting *transient* objects.

Ex. I-v-v-ulakattil oruvar celvamum nilaiyātu.
(Wealth of none in this world is permanent.)

Note 1.—According to Iḷampūraṇar and Cēṉāvaraiyar the word *maṉṉā-p-poruḷ* means *illā-p-poruḷ* or non existent objects. Hence they have given the sentence '*pavaḷa-k-kōṭṭu nīlayāṉai cātavākaṉaṉ kōyiluḷḷum illai*' (the blue elephant with coral tusks is not found even in the temple of *Cātavākaṉaṉ*). Here there are three objections:—(1) They have to translate the sūtra thus:— 'The same is the case when the non-existence of an object in a certain place or at a certain time is predicated.' There is no word in the sūtra warranting the addition of the idea 'in a certain place or at a certain time'. (2) '*um*' in the example given by them is only *ecca-v-ummai* and not *muṟṟummai* as found in the examples of the previous sūtra. (3) The use of '*um*' in the example given by them is sanctioned by the sūtra '*eccam ciṟappē . . . ummai-c-collē*' (Tol. Çol. 255) and hence this sūtra need not sanction it.

According to Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār, the word *maṉṉā-p-poruḷ* means *transient objects.* But Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar says that '*um*' after the word *maṉṉā-p-poruḷ* in the sūtra suggests non-existent objects also. This is quite against the spirit of the sūtra since '*um*' in this sūtra suggests *iṉaitteṉa v-aṟinta ciṉai-mutaṟ kiḷavi* mentioned in the previous sūtra. The examples given by them are respectively '*yākkaiyum nilaiyātu*' (even the body is not permanent), '*cakkaravartti celvamum nilaiyātu*' (the wealth of even the emperor is not permanent). But in those examples the '*um*' after *yākkai* and *celvam* are only *ecca-v-ummai* and not *muṟṟummai* since they respectively suggest

that other objects also are not permanent and that the wealth of others also is not permanent.

Hence I have taken the word '*maṉṉā-p-poruḷ* to mean transient objects and *aṉṉa-v-iyaṟṟē* to mean that the *muṟṟummai* is used immediately preceding the predicate and after the '*viṉai-p-paṭutokuti*' and suggested the example '*I-v-v-ulakattil oruvar celvamum nilaiyātu*' where *maṉṉā-p-poruḷ* is *celvam*, *viṉai-p-paṭutokuti* is *i-v-v-ulakattil oruvar celvam* and *um* after *celvam* is *muṟṟummai* and not *ecca-v-ummai*.

35. எப்பொரு ளாயினு மல்ல தில்லெனின்
அப்பொரு ளல்லாப் பிறிதுபொருள் கூறல்.
E-p-poru ḷ-āyiṉu m-alla til-l-eṉiṉ
A-p-poru ḷ-allā-p piṟitu-poruḷ kūṟal.

If one (a merchant) wishes to inform (a purchaser) of the absence of any commodity by using the expression '*allatil*', he should associate that expression with a word denoting any commodity (that he has), and not with that denoting the commodity asked for.

Ex. 'Paruppū uḷavō vaṇikīr?' eṉṟu viṉāya-vaḻi 'uḻuntallatū illai', 'Koḷḷallatū illai' eṉṟū kūṟal vēṇṭum.

(When a purchaser questions, 'Oh merchant, have you dholl with you?', the merchant has to answer 'I have nothing other than black gram' if he has black gram with him, 'I have nothing other than horse-gram' if he has horse-gram with him, and so on.)

Note 1.—Iḷampūraṇar is of opinion that the expression '*allatil*' in the sūtra means 'the object that he has not and '*piṟitū-poruḷ*' means '*iṉa-p-poruḷ*' or similar commodity. But in the example he has given, he has made use of the expression '*allatil*'. Cēṉāvaraiyar criticises him on four grounds:—(1) If Tolkāppiyaṉār has not intended the use of the expression '*allatil*' in the merchant's answer, what harm is there if the merchant words his answer '*paruppū illai*' (there is no dholl) if he has not got dholl with him? (2) If '*allatū*' in '*allatil*' means '*uḷḷatallatū*' the meaning of the word *allatū* is not clear and Tolkāppiyaṉār would not have framed his sūtra in such a way that the meaning may not be clearly understood. (3) If the word '*piṟitū-poruḷ*' in the sūtra refers only to a *similar object*, a merchant who is generally dealing in oil and dholl will be precluded from answering '*Eṇṇey-allatū illai*' (there is nothing other than oil), when he has no dholl at the time when a purcha-

ser asks for it, since *eṉṉey* is not a commodity similar to dholl. (4) If Tolkāppiyaṉār meant '*iṉa-p-poruḷ*' (similar object) by the term '*piṟitù-poruḷ*', he might as well have used the word '*iṉa-p-poruḷ*' in the place of '*piṟitù-poruḷ*' in the sūtra itself.

As regards the first ground in the criticism, Cēṉāvaraiyar may be informed that in the ordinary course of events merchants are not inclined to use such expressions as 'I do not have dholl' if they do not have it when the purchaser needs it They generally answer 'I have this' by showing a commodity other than dholl'. This shows that they do not like to say '*illai*' (no). The third ground in the criticism of Cēṉāvaraiyar may be met thus:—Why should he not take '*eṉṉey*' as an '*iṉa-p-poruḷ*' (similar object) to '*paruppù*' (dholl)? Though one is a solid and the other is a liquid, yet are they not similar to each other in the fact that each one is a commodity that the merchant deals in? Why should Cēṉāvaraiyar take the term '*iṉam*' in a restricted sense? The word '*allatù*' in the sūtra clearly means '*iṉa-p-poruḷ*'; for the '*aṉmai*' (negation) in the word '*allatù*' denotes *anyōṉyābhāva* and hence the word '*allatù*' means an object partly dissimilar and partly similar (to the object denoted by the word with which it is associated). For example *a-brāhmaṇaḥ* cannot denote a beast which is entirely dissimilar to a brahmin, but can denote only a man who is other than a brāhmin. Evidently such a man is similar to a brāhmin in being a man and dissimilar to him in not being a brāhmin.

The fourth ground in his criticism may be met thus:—Since the word '*allatù*' suggests '*iṉa-p-poruḷ*', Tolkāppiyaṉār has not used '*iṉa-p-poruḷ*' in place of '*piṟitù-poruḷ*'.

Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar gives the same meaning to the sūtra as Iḷampūraṇar and in the example he uses the word '*allatù*' like him. Teyvaccilaiyār interprets '*allatil*' in the same way as Cēṉāvaraiyar, but in the interpretation of the word '*piṟitù-poruḷ*' he agrees with Iḷampūraṇar.

Since all the four commentators have used the expression '*allatillai*' in their examples, it is quite clear that, as regards the interpretation of the expression '*allatil*' in the sūtra, Cēṉāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār are correct.

36. அப்பொருள் கூறிற் சுட்டிக் கூறல்.
A-p-poruḷ kūṟiṟ cuṭṭi-k kūṟal.

If, in the answer given by the merchant, the word denoting the object asked for by the purchaser, is used, it should be preceded by a demonstraive root or adjective.

Ex. ‘Paruppùuḷavō?’ eṉṟa-vaḻi, ‘i-p-paruppallatù illai’ eṉṟù kūṟal vēṇṭum.

(When the merchant is questioned ‘Have you dholl?’, the answer should be ‘There is no dholl other than this’.)

Note 1.—The need for this sūtra is this:—The merchant has the commodity asked for by the purchaser in stock; but the *quality* of the same commodity is not such as should be given to him without showing it to him and getting his consent. In such a case he has to use the expression ‘*allatil*’, but he may associate it with the word denoting the commodity asked for, (though it is against the sanction of the previous sūtra) if that word is preceded by a demonstrative element. The demonstrative element is evidently ‘*i*’ if the commodity asked for is near the seat of the merchant and ‘*a*’ if it is away from it.

37. பொருளொடு புணராச் சுட்டுப்பெய ராயினும்
பொருள்வேறு படாஅ தொன்ற கும்மே.
Poruḷoṭù puṇarā-c cuṭṭu-p-peya r-āyiṉum
Poruḷ-vēṟu paṭāa t-oṉṟā kum-m-ē.

Even though the demonstrative element is not associated with the word denoting the commodity asked for, the sense conveyed will be the same.

Ex. ‘Paruppù uḷavō vaṇīkīr?’ eṉṟùviṉāya-vaḻi, ‘ivai-y-allatù illai’ eṉal.

(When questioned ‘Oh merchant, have you dholl? the answer may be ‘There is nothing except these’.)

Note 1.—The need for this sūtra is this:—The 35th sūtra states that the expression ‘*allatil*’ should be associated with the word denoting a commodity other than that asked for by the purchaser The 36th sūtra states that, if it is associated with the word denoting the object asked or, such a word should be preceded by a demonstrative element. The demonstrative element may be used in two ways:—(1) as a *part* of the compound word like *i-p-paruppù* and *a-p-paruppù* or as ademonstrative *adjective* like *inta-p-paruppù* and *anta-p-paruppù*; and (2) as a demonstrative *pronoun* like *ivai* and *avai*. In the former case there is no opportunity for any doubt to arise; and in the latter case since the plural pronouns *ivai* and *avai* denote not only the object asked for by the purchaser, but also other objects which

the merchant has in his possession, a doubt may arise whether such an expression as '*ivai-y-allatŭ illai*' is a correct answer to the question '*paruppŭ uḷavō* ?'. This sūtra sanctions the correctness of such an expression. It may be noted that all the three sūtras 35, 36, 37 deal with the use of the expression '*allatil*' in different ways. Sūtra 35 deals with it when the merchant has not got in stock the commodity asked for; sūtra 36 deals with it when he has in stock the commodity asked for, but is not satisfied with its quality; and sūtra 37 deals with it whether he has it in stock or no.

Note 2.—Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṉāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār have interpreted the sūtra in the same way as above. Cēṉāvaraiyar adds in his commentary that there are some who think that this sūtra sanctions the use of a demonstrative pronoun, when the object denoted by it is not expressed, but is in the mind of the speaker. For instance one learned in 'elephantology' (the science dealing with the nature, appearance etc. of elephants) may say on looking at the *foot-prints* of an elephant in a forest. 'This surely indicates that the elephant will one day become the king's vehicle'. Here what the word 'this' refers to cannot be understood by the hearer. But a close examination of sūtras 35, 36 and 37 clearly shows that such an interpretation is not quite appropriate.

Note 3.—Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar has given an entirely different meaning to the sūtra. He splits the sūtra into two parts:—*cuṭṭu poruḷoṭŭ puṇarā āyiṉum ākum; peyar poruḷoṭŭ puṇarā āyiṉum (cuṭṭu-p) poruḷ vēṟu-paṭātŭ oṉṟākum.* The former part means that the demonstrative element may be used without mentioning the object to which it refers. Ex. Iஃtŭ ottaṉ. (This is some one.) (Kalit. 61)[1]. The latter part means that a common noun though used in such a way that it cannot be easily understood to whom it refers, may be used to denote a particular object. In this interpretation the following points are to be carefully considered by the readers:—(1) When Tolkāppiyaṉār has so worded his sūtras as not to give room to *vākyabhēda* or sentence-split, would he have combined two different ideas in one sūtra ? (2) The order of words in the sūtra is completely inverted; the word *puṇarā* which seems to be a negative relative participle, while it is taken to be a negative verbal participle. (3) The meaning of the word *poruḷ* in the second line is taken to be

1. Kaḷit = Kalittokai.

'*cuṭṭu-p-poruḷ*', the element *cuṭṭu* being added as an adjunct to the word *poruḷ*. (4) This sūtra does not appear to have any relation to the previous sūtra.

Hence I think that the interpretation given by the other three commentators is sound.

38. இயற்பெயர்க் கிளவியுஞ் சுட்டுபெயர்க் கிளவியும்
வினைக்கொருங் கியலுங் காலுந் தோன்றின்
சுட்டுப்பெயர்க் கிளவி முற்படக் கிளவார்
இயற்பெயர் வழிய வென்மனார் புலவர்.
Iyaṟ-peyar-k kiḷaviyuñ cuṭṭu-p-peyar-k kiḷavium
Viṉaikkoruṅ k-iyaluṅ kāian tōṉṟin
Cuṭṭu-p-peyark kilavi muṟpaṭak kilavār
Iyaṟ-peyar vaḻiya veṉmaṉār pulavar.

If an *iyaṟpeyar* and a pronoun referring to it do not stand as logical subject and predicate, but take a predicate, after them or qualify different predicates, it is said by learned men that the pronoun is never used before the *iyaṟ-peyar*, but only follows it.

Ex. Cāttaṉ vantāṉ; avaṟkū-c- cōṟū koṭu.
(Cāttaṉ came; give him food.)
Cāttaṉ avaṉ vantāṉ.[1]
(Cāttaṉ he came.)

Note 1.—*Iyaṟ-peyar* generally means common noun whose meaning cannot be understood from its derivation. cf. Tol. Col. 174.

Note 2.—The word *iyaṟ-peyar* in the sūtra may be taken as a case of *upalakṣaṇa* i. e., *iyaṟ-peyar* suggests *uyartiṇai-p-peyar* (proper names of persons and gods) and *aḵṟiṇai-p-peyar.*

Note 3.—Iḷampūraṇar, Naccīṉārkkiṉiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār have stated that this sūtra operates only when the *iyaṟ-peyar* and the pronoun qualify different verbs. Cēṉavaraiyar alone thinks that it operates when both take the same predicate or qualify the same verb also.

Note 4.—Iḷampūraṇar states that there were some grammarians who took the word *iyaṟ-peyar* in the sūtra to mean all nouns current in the world. But such a view may not be held

1. The use of the pronoun along with the noun which it refers to, between the noun and its predicate seems to have been current at the time of Iḷampūraṇar. cf. *Tanmai-c-collum aḵṟiṇai-c-collum* avai *eṇṇu, miṭattn* (Tol. Col. 43, Iḷam.).

by Tolkāppiyaṉār since he classifies nouns as *iyaṟ-peyar, ciṉai-p-peyar, ciṉai-mutaṟ-peyar, muṟai-p-peyar,* etc. in sūtra 174 of *Peyariyal.*

Note 5.—This sūtra does not operate when the noun and the pronoun stand as logical subject and predicate. Hence the sentence '*Avaṉ Cāttaṉ*' (He is Cāttaṉ) is correct though the pronoun *avaṉ* precedes the noun Cāttaṉ. It does not operate also when the pronoun does not refer to the noun mentioned. Hence the sentence 'Avaṉum Cāttaṉum vantār' (He and Cāttaṉ came) is not incorrect since the word '*avaṉ*' does not refer to Cāttaṉ but refers to another person.

39. முற்படக் கிளத்தல் செய்யுளு ளுரித்தே.
Muṟ-paṭa-k- kiḷattal ceyyuḷ-u ḷ-urittē.

(The pronoun referred to in the previous sūtra) may precede the noun which it refers to in poetry.

Ex. Avaṉ-aṇaṅku nōy-ceytā ṉ-āyiḻāy vēlaṉ
Viraṉ-miku-tār-c cēntaṉ-pēr vāḻtti-mukaṉ-amarntū
Aṉṉai y-alar-kaṭappan tāraṇi-y-i l-eṉṉai-kol
Piṉṉai y-ataṉ-kaṉ viḻaivu.

(Oh, lady beautified with rich ornaments! the has left you to suffer separation. Still why do you expect his garland of *kadamba* flowers with a smiling face, extolling the name of Cēntaṉ who wears a garland on account of his victory with the help of his javelin ?)

Here the pronoun *avaṉ* precedes the *Cēntaṉ* found in the second line.

40. சுட்டுமுத லாகிய காரணக் கிளவியும்
சுட்டுப்பெய ரியற்கையிற் செறியத் தோன்றும்.
Cuṭṭu-muta l-ākiya kāraṇa-k kiḷaviyum
Cuṭṭu-p-peya r-iyaṟkaiyiṟ ceṟiya-t tōṉṟum.

The word commencing with a demonstrative root and denoting the reason is similar in its usage to the demonstrative pronouns and adjectives.

Ex. Cāttaṉ-kai-y-eḻutu-māṟū vallaṉ, ataṉāltantai uvukkam.

(Cāttaṉ writes a good hand and so his father appreciates him.)

Note 1.—In the sūtras 38 and 39 the pronoun refers to a noun. In this sūtra it is said that, even when the pronoun refers to the idea contained in a sentence, it should follow the sentence and should not precede it.

Note 2.—Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṉāvaraiyar and Naccinārkkiṉiyar have all given the example given above. Iḷampūraṇar thinks that the word *ataṉāl* is a noun in the instrumental case, while Cēṉāvaraiyar and Naccinārkkiṉiyar take it as *iṭai-c-col.*

41. சிறப்பி னாகிய பெயர்நிலைக் கிளவிக்கும்
இயற்பெயர்க் கிளவி முற்படக் கிளவார்.
Ciṟappi ṉ-ākiya peyar-nilai-k kiḷavikkum
Iyaṟ-peyar-k kiḷavi muṟ-paṭa-k kiḷavār.

The original name of a person also should not precede the name of distinction of the same person if both qualify the same verb.

Ex. Teyva-p-pulavar Tiru-vaḷḷuvaṉār kuṟaḷ pāṭiṉār.

(The holy poet Tiruvaḷḷuvar composed kuṟaḷ.)

Note 1.—The word *viṉai-k- k-oruṅk- iyalum-vaḻi* has to be taken here from the sūtra 38.

42. ஒருபொருள் குறித்த வேறுபெயர்க் கிளவி
தொழில்வேறு கிளப்பி னொன்றிட னிலவே.
Oru-poruḷ kuṟitta vēṟu-peyar-k kiḷavi
Toḻil-vēṟu kiḷappi ṉ-oṉṟiṭa ṉ-ilavē.

Epithets denoting the same person or object cannot denote one and the same person or object if each takes a *different* predicate after it.

Ex. In the sentence

'Maṉṉaṉ veṉṟāṉ, Iḷantiraiyaṉ tirumpiṉāṉ'

[King won, Iḷantiraiyaṉ (name of king) returned.]

the predicates veṉṟāṉ and tirumpiṉāṉ cannot refer to the deeds of the same person since their respective subjects maṉṉaṉ and Iḷantiraiyaṉ have different connotations, though they denote the same person.

Note. 1.—This sūtra suggests that, if different epithets denoting the same person take the same predicate, the whole may be taken as one sentence.

Ex. Viṭar-c-cilai poṟitta vēntaṉ vāḻi
Pūn-taṇ poruṉai-p-poṟaiyaṉ vāḻi
Māṉtarañ cēral maṉṉavaṉ vāḻi.
(Long live the king who engraved in the hill
Long live the lord of the river Poruṉai filled with flowers and cool water
Long live the King Māntarañcēral.)

या जनिक्रिया तत्कर्ता अङ्कुरोऽनागतत्वादसन्नेव । तदभावे चाश्रयरहितेयं नास्ति । असती कथं निरोधतुल्यकालिका स्यात् । तस्मात्क्रिययोर्यौगपद्यं नैवयुक्तम् । उक्तं हि ।

यदि कश्चिदनुत्पन्नो भावः संविद्यते क्वचित् ।
उत्पद्येत स किं तस्मिन् भाव उत्पद्यतेऽसति[1] ॥ इति ।

[2]अस्यायमर्थः । यदि कश्चिदनुत्पन्न उत्पादात्पूर्वमङ्कुराख्यो भावः क्वचित् संविद्येत, स उत्पद्येत । न च कश्चिदुत्पादात्पूर्वं क्वचिद्भावः स्थातुं क्षमः । अनुत्पन्नत्वात् । अत उत्पत्तिक्रियाश्रये तस्मिन् भाव उत्पादात्पूर्वमसति अविद्यमाने किमुत्पद्यत इति । तस्मिञ्शब्दो भावविशेषणात् समानाधिकरणः । भाव इति सप्तमी । असतीत्यपि विशेषणम् । किंशब्द उत्पद्यत इत्यनेन योज्यः । भावेऽसति किमुत्पद्यते । न किञ्चिदुत्पद्यत इत्यर्थः ॥

(97,1) ननु तुलादण्डोन्नामावनामन्यायेन यस्मिन्नेव क्षणे बीजो निरुध्यते तस्मिन्नेवाङ्कुर उत्पद्यत [3]इत्यार्यशालिस्तम्बसूत्रेऽयं दृष्टान्त उपन्यस्त इति चेत्, सत्यमुपन्यस्तः । स तु न परत उत्पाददेशनार्थम् । नापि स्वलक्षणोत्पाददेशनार्थम् । किं तर्हि । युगपत्प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादमविचारसिद्धं मायोपमं परिदीपयितुम् । यथोक्तम् ।

निरुद्धाद्वानिरुद्धाद्वा बीजान्नाङ्कुरसंभवः ।
मायोत्पादवदुत्पादः सर्व एव त्वयोच्यते ॥ [4]इति ।

(97,13) अत्राह बीजाङ्कुरयोर्यौगपद्यासत्त्वेन परत्वाभावाज्जनिर्न युक्ता । यत्र तु यौगपद्यमस्ति तत्र परत्वसत्त्वेन जनिर्भविष्यति । तद्यथा चक्षुर्विज्ञानं तत्सहभूवेदनादयश्च । चक्षूरूपादयः सहभुवो वेदनादयश्च समकाल

1. म॰ शास्त्र VII. 17. (L. V. P.).

2. Cf. म॰ वृ॰ p. 161, L. 1.

3. Cited in बो॰ प॰ p. LL. 5—1. The same doctrine in Abhidharmakośa Mss. Soc. As. fol. 222a: बीजाङ्कुरनिरोधन्यायेन एकस्मिन्नेव क्षणे बीजं निरुध्यतेऽङ्कुरश्चोत्पद्यते तुलादण्डनामोन्नामवन्नाशोत्पादयोस्समकालत्वात् । (L. V, P.).

4, Cited in बो॰ प॰ p. 533, L. 10, from catuh Stava (L. V. P.).

एव चक्षुर्विज्ञानं जनयन्ति । तथा चक्षुरादयश्चित्तं च समकाल एव वेदनादीनां प्रत्ययतां यान्ति इति । तन्न भवति । कस्मात् ।

चक्षुर्धियः स्वजनकान्ननु लोचनादेः
संज्ञादितः सहभुवो यदि तुल्यकालम् ।
अन्यत्वमस्ति, भवनेन सतः किमास्ते
तन्नास्ति चेदथ पुनः कथितोऽत्र दोषः ॥ २० ॥

यदि चक्षुरादयः संज्ञादयश्च समकालिका वर्तमानचक्षुर्धीप्रत्ययत्वेन इष्यन्ते, तदा विद्यमानामेव तामपेक्ष्य [1]परत्वं स्यात् । विद्यमानस्य तु भवनेन न किञ्चिदपि प्रयोजनमस्तीति नास्त्युत्पत्तिः । यद्यनुत्पत्तिपरिजिहीर्षया न तदस्त्वि-मुपगम्यते । तदपि अविद्यमानधियश्चक्षुरादयो नान्या इति दोष उक्त एव ।

तस्मादेवमिष्टे परत उत्पादे परत्वसंभवेऽपि नोत्पादः संभवति । तदसंभवान्नोभयं संभवति । उत्पादसंभवेऽपि न परत्वं संभवति । तदसंभवादुभयमपि न संभवति इति सर्वथा बह्यार्थासत्त्वाद्बह्यार्थशून्यतया गत्वा गत्वा केवलं शब्दमात्रं शिष्यते । तस्मादियं कल्पना न युक्ता ॥

(98,20) इदानीं हेतुफलयोरुभयोर्हेतुफलापेक्षः कालो नास्तीति देशयितुमाह ।

जन्यं परं जनयते जनकः स हेतुः
सद्वोत वाऽसदुभयं जनयेद्विहीनम् ।
[2]कोऽर्थः सतश्च जनकादसतोऽपि तेन
द्वित्वस्य किं द्विरहितस्य च तेन कार्यम् ॥ २१ ॥

जनकहेतुर्न तावत्सद्भूतस्य जन्यस्य जनकः ॥

जातस्य जन्म पुनरेव च नैव युक्तम्[3] ।

इत्यादिना दोषस्यैवोक्तत्वात् । अतस्तस्य प्रत्ययैर्न किञ्चिदपि प्रयोजनम् ।

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1. प्रत्ययादीनां इत्यादिः ।
2. Lit. सतो जनकः किमर्थः ।
3. VI 8 d supra.

असद्भूतस्यापि जन्यस्य किं कार्यं तैः प्रत्ययैः। असत्त्वात् खरविषाणवत्। यथोक्तम्[1]।

स्तम्भादीनामलङ्कारो गृहस्यार्थे निरर्थकः।
सत्कार्यमेव यस्येष्टं यस्यासत्कार्यमेव च॥ इति।

(99,15) मध्यमकेऽप्युक्तम्[2]।

फलं स्वभावसद्भूतं किं हेतुर्जनयिष्यति।
फलं स्वभावासद्भूतं किं हेतुर्जनयिष्यति॥
न चाजनयमानस्य हेतुत्वमुपपद्यते।
हेतुत्वानुपपत्तौ च फलं कस्य भविष्यति॥ इति।

द्वित्वे सत्यपि किं तस्य प्रत्ययैः कार्यम्। उक्तदोषप्रसङ्गात्। द्वयोर्भावो द्वित्वम्। द्वित्वे विद्यमानं हि द्वित्वम्। एकदा एकस्य सदसत्स्वभावकता न संभवति। अतस्तत्स्वभावको भाव एव नास्ति। अविद्यमानत्वात्तस्य जनकैः प्रत्ययैः किं कार्यम्। यथोक्तं शास्त्रे[3]।

भवेद्भावो भावश्च निर्वाण उभयं कथम्।
तयोरेकत्र नास्तित्वमालोकतमसोर्यथा॥ इति।

तथा

कारकः सदसद्भूतः सदसत्कुरुते न तत्।
परस्परविरुद्धं हि सच्चासच्चैकतः कुतः॥ इति च।

(100,12) यदुभयरहितं फलं न सन्नाप्यसत्। तस्योभयरहितस्यापि किं तैः प्रत्ययैः। सदसत्स्वभावमुक्तस्य फलस्याविद्यमानत्वात्। सदसत्त्वासंभवे 'न सन्नासत्' इति तयोः प्रतिषेधान्न किञ्चिदपि विशेषणं भवेत्। यदा चैततदुभयमसिद्धं तदा न सन्नासच्च नैव संभवति। यथोक्तम्[4]।

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1. चतुश्शतक (Harap. Sastri) p. 511. (P. L. Vaidya) XI. 15 and cited in म० वृ० p. 393.

2. म० शास्त्र XX. 21 and 22.

3. म० शास्त्र XXV. 14 and VIII. 7.

4. Ibid. XXV. 15.

नैवाभावो नैव भावो निर्वाणमिति यासना ।
अभावे चैव भावे च सा सिद्धे सति सिध्यति ॥ इति ।

(101,3) जनिप्रसिद्ध्यै या योपपत्तिरुक्ता सा सा त्वन्मतिज्वलनेन सर्पिस्सिक्तशुष्केन्धनवन्निश्शेषं दग्धा[1] चेत्, अलं त्वत्प्रज्ञाज्वलनोत्थापन[2]-परायणयुक्तीन्धनचोदनया । ननु यदि युक्त्या नोपदेशः, न निवक्षितोऽर्थः सेत्स्यति। तन्न भवति । योऽर्थो लोकत एव सिद्धः, न तत्र किञ्चिद्युक्त्या कार्यम् । लोकदर्शनस्यातिबलवत्त्वात् इत्याह ।

लोकं स्वदृष्टिगतमिच्छति यः प्रमाणं
युक्त्यैव संकथितयास्य हि दर्शनं किम् ।
भावः परस्य परतोऽपि च लोकक्लृप्तः
तेनास्ति जन्म परतोऽत्र नयेन कोऽर्थः ॥ २२ ॥

स्वदृष्टिमेवाश्रिते सर्वस्मिँल्लोक अतिबलवान् । दृश्यते च परत एव उत्पादः । युक्त्युपन्यसितं वस्तु पुनरप्रत्यक्षस्यैव योग्यं न तु प्रत्यक्षस्य । तस्माद्विनाप्युपपत्तिं भावानां परत उत्पादो विद्यत एव इति ।

(101,19) यः पुनरनधिगताविपरीतशास्त्रार्थः आहितानादिसंसारभववासनापरिपाको भावाभिनिवेशविप्रियां श्रुतिमसहमानो लोकबाधानिः[3]सरणोपायमाश्रयते । एनमतिमहतीमुदारां लौकिकनीतिमनुक्त्वा लोकबाधा[4]लीकान्निवर्तयितुमशक्यमिति लोकबाधाविषयं सविशेषं प्रदर्शयितुं तावत्सत्यद्वयव्यमस्यामधिकृत्याह ।

सम्यङ्मृषादर्शनलब्धभावं
रूपद्वयं बिभ्रति सर्वभावाः ।

1. Tib. p. 101, L. 5 read bsregs for bsgregs. But my guru Prof. V. Bhattācārya of Santiniketan, reads for it bsgrigs = आच्छादित
2. Tib. Spor-ba = उत्थापन ?
3. Tib. rdol = निःसरण (V. Bhattācarya).
4. Tib. bla-rdol = ɒdsun. pa.

सम्यग्दृशां यो विषयः स तत्त्वं
मृषादृशां संवृतिसत्यमुक्तम्[1] ॥ २३ ॥

इहाविपरीतसत्यद्वयस्वरूपवेदिभिर्भगवाद्भिर्बुद्धैर्द्विविधं स्वरूपमुपदिष्टं आध्यात्मिकानां बाह्यानां च सर्वेषां भावानां संस्काराङ्कुरादीनां। यदुत सांवृतं पारमार्थिकं च। तत्र पारमार्थिकमेकं रूपं सम्यग्दृशां ज्ञानविशेषविषयतयात्मभावं लभते। न तु स्वात्मतया सिद्धम्। अन्यत् अविद्यातिमिरपटलाशेषावृतबुद्धिलोचनानां पृथग्जनानां मृषादर्शनबलादात्मभावं लभते। बालदर्शनविषयीकृतो यथातथास्वभावस्तु स्वरूपतोऽसिद्धः। तस्मादेतत्स्वभावद्वयं सर्वे पदार्था धारयन्ति। तयोश्च स्वभावयोर्यः सम्यग्दृशां विषयस्तदेव तत्त्वम्। तदेव पारमार्थिकं सत्यमित्यर्थः। तत्स्वरूपं हि वक्ष्यते। यश्च मृषादृशां विषयः तत्संवृतिसत्यम्।

(103,7) तस्मादेवं सत्यद्वयं व्यवस्थाप्य मृषादृक्ष्वपि सम्यङ्मृषादृक्तया द्वित्वसत्त्वात् तद्ग्राह्यार्थज्ञानयोर्द्वित्वं कथयितुमाह।

मृषादृशोऽपि द्विविधास्त इष्टा
दीप्तेन्द्रिया इन्द्रियदोषवन्तः।
दुष्टेन्द्रियाणां किल बोध इष्टः
[2]सुस्थेन्द्रियज्ञानमपेक्ष्य मिथ्या ॥ २४ ॥

तत्र दीप्तेन्द्रियास्तिमिरविगताः कामलादिनानुपहताश्च गृहीताविपरीततथाविधबाह्यविषयाः। दुष्टेन्द्रियास्तद्विपरीताः। तत्र दुष्टेन्द्रियाणां यज्ज्ञानं तत् सुस्थेन्द्रियाणां ज्ञानमपेक्ष्य मिथ्याज्ञानमिष्टम् ॥

(104,1) यथैषां ज्ञानं विपरीताविपरीततद्द्वारा द्विविधम्। तथाविषयोऽपीति प्रदर्शनायाह।

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1. Cited in बो० प० p. 361, L. 4. (L.V.P.)

2. Tib. legs-gyur = सुस्थ ?

विनोपघातेन यदिन्द्रियाणां
षण्णामपि ग्राह्यमवैति लोकः ।
सत्यं हि तल्लोकत एव शेषं
विकल्पितं लोकत एव मिथ्या[1] ॥ २५ ॥

तत्र तिमिरकामलादयो दर्दुराहारादयश्च इन्द्रियोपघातप्रत्यया आध्यात्मिकाः । तैलसलिलदर्पणशैलगुहाद्युच्चरितशब्दादयो देशकालविशिष्टसूर्यकिरणसामीप्यादयश्च इन्द्रियोपघातप्रत्यया बाह्याः । ते च मुक्त्वाध्यात्मिकानिन्द्रियोपघातान् प्रतिबिम्बप्रतिश्रुत्कमरीच्युदकचन्द्रादिग्रहहेतवो भवन्ति । तथेन्द्रजालविदादिना प्रयुक्ता मन्त्रौषध्यादयोऽपि वेदितव्याः । ते [2]चासत्कृतसिद्धान्तादयोऽनुमानाभासाश्च मनउपघाताः । स्वप्नादीनां व्यवस्था त्वाख्यास्यते[3] । तस्मादेवं यथोक्तेनेन्द्रियोपघातप्रत्ययेन विना [य]मिन्द्रियषट्केन ग्राह्यमर्थमवैति लोकः । तल्लोकत एव सत्यम् । न त्वार्यापेक्षया । यच्च प्रतिबिम्बादिविषयरूपत्वेनावभासते सतीन्द्रियाणामुपघाते । तल्लोकापेक्षयैव मिथ्या ॥

(105,7) इदानीमुदाहरणरूपेणोक्तमेवार्थमुपदेष्टुमाह ।

अज्ञानमिद्धोत्क्षुभितैर्यथास्वं[4]
प्रकल्पितं यत्किल तीर्थिकैश्च ।
मायामरीच्यादिषु कल्पितं यत्
तल्लोकतश्चापि न विद्यते हि ॥ २६ ॥

एते हि तीर्थिकास्तत्त्वावततारयिषया आगोपालाङ्गनादिकमव्युत्पन्न[5]जनप्रसिद्धं भावानामुत्पादविनाशादिकमविपरीतं सम्यगवधार्य[6]प्रकर्षगमनेच्छया-

1. Cited in बो० प० p. 353, L. 13. (L.V.P.)

2. Tib. yaṅ-dag-pa-ma-yin-pa = असत् ?

3. VI. 48. infra.

4. Dr. poussin, comparing बो० प० p. 353, L. 11 reads here यथास्वं (Le Museon. N. S. XI. p. 302).

5. Prof. V. Bhattācārya asserts from Catuḥ Śataka Vṛtti that the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tib. word 'ma-byaṅ' is अव्युत्पन्न.

6. Compare बो०. प०. p. 258, L. 1.

वृक्षमारूढः पूर्वशाखामुत्सृज्य ऊर्ध्वशाखां गृह्णन्निव दुर्दृष्टिदरीषु[1] [2]महापातं पतन्ति । सत्यद्वयविरहाच्च न फलमाप्नुवन्ति ॥ तस्मादेतैर्यद्गुणत्रयादिकं कल्पितम्, तल्लोकसंवृत्त्यैव नास्ति ॥ तस्मादिह (106,2.) ।

न बाधते ज्ञानमतैमिराणां
  यथोपलब्धं तिमिरेक्षणानाम् ।
तथामलज्ञानतिरस्कृतानां
  धियास्ति बाधा न धियोऽमलायाः[3] ॥ २७ ॥

यत् पुनः परत उत्पादप्रतिषेधकथनं न तल्लोकदृष्टावेव स्थित्वा । किं तर्हि । आर्याणां दर्शनमभ्युपगम्य । यदोत्पादप्रतिषेधस्यैतद्विशेषणम् । तदा यथा तैमिरिकाणां केशादिरूपोपलम्भः नातैमिरिकाणां ज्ञानं बाधते । तथानास्रवज्ञानविरहितानां पृथग्जनानां ज्ञानमपि न निरास्रवं दर्शनं बाधते इत्येवंविधे विषये न लोकेन बाधा । अतश्चैवं परः सद्भिर्हसनीय एव स्यात् । तस्मादेतेन सत्यद्वयं सांवृतपारमार्थिकविभागेन भावानां स्वरूपद्वयं चाभिहितम् ॥

(106,19) तत्र लोकसंवृतिसत्यप्रदर्शनायाह ।

मोहः स्वभावावरणाद्धि संवृतिः
  सत्यं तयाख्याति यदेव कृत्रिमम् ।
जगाद तत्संवृतिसत्यमित्यसौ
  मुनिः पदार्थं कृतकं च संवृतिम्[4] ॥ २८ ॥

तत्रायं सत्त्वान् यथावस्थितभावदृष्टौ मोहयतीति मोहः । अविद्या[5] हि पदार्थासत्स्वरूपारोपिका स्वभावदर्शनावरणात्मिका संवृतिः । तया च संवृत्या यत्सत्याभासं निःस्वभाववत् स्वभावेन प्रतिभासते । तन्मिथ्याभूत-लोकसंवृतिसत्यम् । तत्कृत्रिमं प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नम् । किञ्चित्प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नं प्रति-

---

1. =ri-sul. But the Indices Verborum of न्यायबिन्दु etc,, give निकुञ्ज as the equivalent of it.

2. Lit. पातेन.

3. Cited in बो० प० p. 369, L. 15, (L.V.P.).

4. Ibid. p. 353, 3. (L.V.P.).

5. Cf. Ibid. p. 352, L. 7.

बिम्बप्रतिश्रुत्कादिकं मृषाप्यविद्यावतां भासते । किञ्चिन्नीलादिरूपचित्त वेदनादिकं सत्यं भासते । सर्वथा स्वभवो नाविद्यावतां भासते । अतः संवृत्यापि यन्मृषा तत्संवृतिसत्यं न भवति । एवं तावत् भवाङ्गसङ्गातः संक्लिष्टाविद्यावशेन संवृतिसत्यं व्यवस्थाप्यते । तच्च तिरस्कृतसंक्लिष्टाविद्यानां संस्कारान् प्रतिबिम्बादिसत्तातुल्यानवलोकयतां श्रावकप्रत्येकबुद्धबोधिसत्त्वानां कृत्रिमस्वभावम् । न तु सत्यम् । सत्याभिमानविरहात् । बालानां मोषकं तदन्येषां मायादिवत्प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नतया संवृतिमात्रम् । तच्च ज्ञेयावरणलक्षणा[1]-विद्यामात्रसंयोजनात्साभासगोचरगतानामार्याणां भाति । न तु [2]निराभासगोचर-गतानाम् । संबुद्धेषु सर्वधर्मसर्वाकाराभिसम्बोधाच्चित्तचैत्तसंचारोऽत्यन्तं निवृत्त इष्यते । एवं तावदसौ भगवान् संवृतिसत्यं संवृतिमात्रं जगाद । तत्र पृथग्जनानां यः परमार्थः स साभासगोचरगतानामार्याणां संवृतिमात्रमेव । या तत्स्वभावशून्यता, सैव तेषां परमार्थः । संबुद्धानां परमार्थः एवस्वभावः । सोऽप्यप्रमोषकत्वात्परमार्थसत्यम् । तद्धि तेषां प्रत्यामवेद्यम्[3] । संवृतिसत्यं तु प्रमोषकत्वान्न परमार्थसत्यम् ॥

(109,1) तस्मादेवं संवृतिसत्यमुक्त्वा परमार्थसत्यविवक्षया अवाच्यत्वात् ज्ञानाविषयत्वाच्च तद्वस्तुतो वक्तुं न शक्यते[4] इति श्रोतुकामानां स्वसंवेद्यतया तत्स्वभावं व्यञ्जयितुं दृष्टान्तमाह ।

विकल्पितं यत्तिमिरप्रभावात्
केशादिरूपं वितथं तदेव ।
येनात्मना पश्यति शुद्धदृष्टि-
स्तत्तत्त्वमित्येवमिहाप्यवैहि[5] ॥ २९ ॥

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1. See धर्मसङ्ग्रह CXV and म० वृ० p. 117. n. 1.
2. Bhūmis 8-10 are called "nirābhāsa" in लङ्कावतारसूत्र, अभिसमयपरिवर्त (Gloossary of the Daśa bhūmika-Sutra. p. 27).
3. Cf. बो० प० p. 367, L. 12 and म० वृ० p. 373, L. 6 and n. 2.
4. Cf. बो० प० pp. 365, LL. 6-8 and 366, 8.
5. Cited in बो० प० p. 365, L. 2 (L.V.P.).

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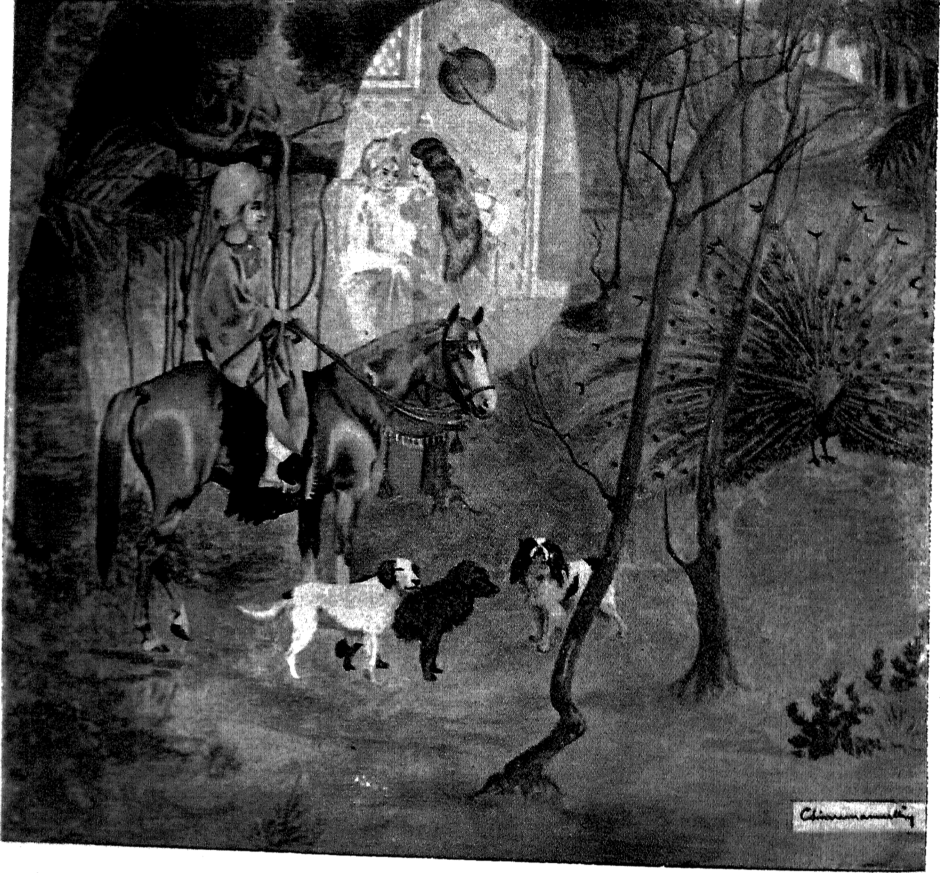
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King Dasaratha on meeting a peacock in the forest.



अपि तुरगसमीपादुत्पतन्तं मयूरं
न स रुचिरकलापं बाणलक्ष्यीचकार ।
सपदि गतमनस्कश्चित्रमाल्यानुकीर्णे
रतिविगलितबन्धे केशपाशे प्रियायाः ॥

Raghu. IX., 67.

[illegible]TE ON [illegible]

BY

K. [illegible] SASTRI, M.A.

[illegible] History and Archaeology,
University of Madras.

[illegible] grant is the earliest copper plate grant of the [illegible] known. It contains a valuable account of [illegible] kings of the seventh and eighth [illegible] plates a[illegible] the history [illegible] A.D. [illegible] This [illegible] of Nelveli which is mentioned in ll. 53-54 [illegible] grant in the words:[illegible]

[illegible]-ippalyal Nelvēlic-ceru Venrum.

[illegible] question that is first to engage our attention [illegible] three ways in which this word has [illegible] writers. *First* as the name of a [illegible] interpretation originally proposed by Mr. [illegible] summary of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant given [illegible] Report on Epigraphy (Madras) in 1908. He [illegible] Arikēsari Asamasaman defeated the arm[illegible] [illegible]. He has been followed by other writers [illegible]

[illegible] *Kingdom*, p. [illegible]

[illegible] XVII, p. 300.

[illegible] para 23.

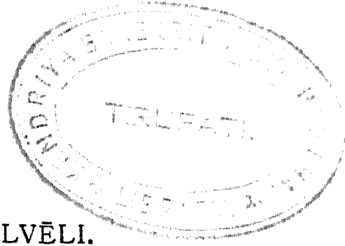
[illegible] Sastri *Ep. Ind.* XVII, pp. 295 and [illegible]

[illegible] Aiyangar, *Beginnings* [illegible]

[illegible] *Gazetteer* Vol. [illegible]



Bagh. IX.



A NOTE ON VILVĒLI AND NELVĒLI.

BY

K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI, M.A.,

Professor of Indian History and Archaeology,
University of Madras.

The Vēḷvikuḍi grant is the earliest copper plate grant of the Pāṇḍyan kings so far known. It contains a valuable account of the achievements of the Pāṇḍyan kings of the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. This grant and the larger Śinnamanūr plates are the most trustworthy sources of our knowledge of the history of the kingdom in the extreme south of India for a period of nearly three centuries. It has not yet been possible to explain fully and satisfactorily all the events narrated in these charters. It is the object of this note to discuss one event in the reign of Arikēsari Asamasaman Śrī Māṟavarman C. 670-710 A.D.[1] This event is the celebrated battle of Nelvēli which is mentioned in ll. 53-54 of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant in the words:[2]

Vilvēli—kkaḍaṟ-ṟāṉaiyai Nelvēlic-ceru Veṉṟum.

The particular question that is first to engage our attention relates to Vilvēli. There are three ways in which this word has been understood by different writers. *First* as the name of a general. This is the interpretation originally proposed by Mr. Venkayya in his tentative summary of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant given in his Annual Report[3] for Epigraphy (Madras) in 1908. He says that Māṟavarman Arikēsari Asamasaman defeated the army of Vilvēli at Nelvēli. He has been followed by other writers also.[4]

1. My *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 41.
2. Ep. Ind. XVII, p. 300.
3. Pt. II, para 28.
4. Krishna Sastri *Ep. Ind.* XVII, pp. 293 and 306; *also* S.I.I. III, pp. 441 ff.; Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *Beginnings of South Indian History*, pp. 258 and 268-9. *Tinnevelly Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 46. Also my *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 51.

Second as the name of a place. This view is held almost alone by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar who, in tracing the campaigns of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I against the south says: "The army that marched against the Pāṇḍyas came from the city of Vilvēli which is perhaps identical with Villivalam in the Chingleput District".[1] *Third* and last, as an adjective to the expression which follows: This is the suggestion first made, so far as I can trace, by Mr. K. G. Sankara.[2] "The passage only means: 'the army fenced in (*vēli*) by bowmen (*vil*),' and all guesses as to whether Vilvēli was a person or place are needless. We shall now consider each of these interpretations more closely.

If Vilvēli was the name of a person, who was he ? Dr. S. K. Aiyangar[3] thinks that Vilvēli was a Pallava, because the Pallavas were also known by the name Villava. He refers us also to the hymn of Tirumaṅgai Āḻvār on *Tiruppāramēccuraviṇṇagaram* in which the Āḻvār refers to a battle of Neṉmali, probably the same as Nelvēli. On the other hand, Mr. H. Krishna Sastri[4] thinks that Vilvēli was 'perhaps a Cēra.' As Mr. Krishna Sastri assigns no reason in support of his surmise, it is not possible to test its correctness. There seems to be almost nothing in its favour except the identification of Nelvēli with Tirunelvēli,[5] a town more within reach of the Cēras than of the Pallavas. But the identifications proposed by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar of Villavaṉ and Vilvēli, and of Neṉmali and Nelvēli, raise important questions which may be reserved for consideration later on. Meanwhile it may be observed that as the name of a person Vivēli lends itself to such diverse interpretations at the hands of scholars, and that it has so far received no epigraphical confirmation either as the name of a king or as that of a general commanding an army in a battle at Nelvēli or elsewhere. These circumstances may well raise a doubt as to whether Vilvēli is a personal name at all. It may also be observed that there is a serious difficulty from a grammatical point of view in treating

1. *Ancient Dekhan*, p. 40 ; also p. 123.
2. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. 51, p. 214. Mr. Krishna Sastri attributes this interpretation to Dr. S. K. Aiyangar *Ep. Ind.* XVII, p. 306 *n.* 6.
3. *Beginnings*, p. 268-9.
4. S. I. I. III, p. 447.
5. S. I. I. II, p. 364.

Vilvēli in the present context as a personal name. Our text, clearly and unmistakably, is:

Vilvēli-kkaḍarṟāṉaiyai. But, by a well-known rule of grammar, if Vilvēli were a proper name, the initial *ka* of the succeeding word should not be reduplicated into *kka*.[1] The reduplicated form is clear in the plates and there is not the slightest doubt as to the reading here; it is, therefore, necessary to interpret the passage in some other way and drop the assumption, if it is possible to do so, that Vilvēli is a personal name.

The idea that Vilvēli is a geographical name is not more easy to sustain. This is clear from the reluctance of scholars to accept the suggestion of Mr. K.V.S. Aiyar in this matter. Moreover, Villivalam is referred to in the Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman as Vilvala,[2] a form very different from Vilvēli.[3]

This brings us to the last of the three views outlined above, which makes Vilvēli an adjective to the succeeding phrase and a part of the description of the army against which Arikēsari fought at Nelvēli. The line thus means: "Having defeated in a battle at Nelvēli (the) ocean-like army fenced in by bowmen." We have here, in fact, a reference to a disposition of forces in battle array which appears to have been common among the Ancient Tamils, and this will become clear from some references in classical and later Tamil literature.[4] Thus in the *Mullaip-p-āṭṭu* we read: *Pūndalai-kkundaṁ-gutti-kkiḍukuniraittu vāṅgu-vil-araṇam-araṇamāka vēṟupal perumbaḍai nāppaṉ* (in 41-43), meaning, "In the midst of large and diverse forces which had for protection the enclosure of drawn bows and ornamented pikes planted on the ground, and shields arrayed in regular order." Again, in the *Jīvaka-cintāmaṇi*, stanza 279, we read in the description of a fight: *Vēl-miḍainda-vēliyum-piḷandu*, meaning: "(After) breaking through the fence bristling with lances." In this case, it is the lancers, not the bowmen that fence the army; it is, in other words, a *vēlvēli* in the place of a *vilvēli.* Lastly, Kambaṉ in his description of Guha in the Rāmāyaṇa[5] calls him:

1. See e.g. *Nannūl* Sec. 158, *Mayilaināthar* ed. Pandit Swaminatha Aiyar (1918). Also *Tolkāppiyam Eluttu*—153.

2. S. I. I. II, p. 369, 1. 44.

3. Contra., *Ancient Dekhan*, p. 123.

4. I owe these references to Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar and Mr. Vaiyapuri Pillai of the Tamil Lexicon.

5. St. 25 of the *Guha-p-paḍalam*.

"*Virpiḍittavēlaiyiṉāṉ*," that is to say, "One possessing an ocean (-like army) holding bows", which comes very close to the description in the Vēḷvikuḍi grant : *Vilivēli-kkadarrāṉai.* These quotations must suffice, it is possible to produce others, to convince us that it was usual for armies in those days to surround themselves by a ring of lancers or bowmen, who apparently bore the first shock of the enemy's attack. There is no difficulty, therefore in interpreting the line from the Vēḷvikuḍi grant in the light of this practice and to abandon once for all the attempts to identify Vilvēli with a person or a place.

We may now turn to the battle of Nelvēli and the identification proposed by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar. Whether Vilvēli is identical with Villavaṉ, and Villavaṉ is another name for Pallava, cease to be matters of any great consequence, if the view urged above is accepted. It may, however, be observed, in passing, that there does not seem to be sufficient support for taking Villava to be another name for Pallava. The lines of Tirumaṅgai Āḻvār on which this view rests are not altogether free from doubt. As they stand in the editions which are now current and as interpreted by the celebrated annotator Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai these lines indeed seem to identify Pallava and Villava. The text is:

Pallavaṉ Villavaṉ eṉṟu ulakil
palarāy-ppala-vēndar vaṇaṅgu-kaḻal—Pallavaṉ.[1]

Here, undoubtedly, the author seeks to glorify the Pallava as superior in power to other kings who were subordinate to him, and one would normally expect the words before "*eṉṟu ulakil palarāy*" to give examples of such subject kings as are collectively referred to as '*palavēndar*'; and one can hardly resist, in the context, emending the first 'Pallava' of the text into 'Vallava', '*pa*' and '*va*' being orthographically so liable to be mistaken for each other. This slight emendation makes the passage very much straighter and more forceful than it is in its present form. For, then, the Cāḷukya and the Cēra (Villavaṉ) would be the examples of the kings subdued by the Pallava and obliged consequently to make obeisance to him. However that may be, it seems that more evidence is needed[2] than is

1. *Periya Tirumoli*, II 9, 1.

2. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says that in St. 8 of *Periya Tirumoli*, II 9 Pallava is referred to as Villavaṉ. I am unable to see this.

furnished by this passage before one can accept that the Pallava was also called Villava.

The identification of Neṉmali with Nelvēli deserves more attention. The battle of Nelvēli is well-known in literature. Sundaramūrti in his *Tiruttoṇḍattogai* mentions this battle as the chief achievement of Niṉṟa-Śīr-Neḍumāṟa Nāyaṉār who may, with good reason, be identified with Arikēsari Māṟavarmaṉ of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant.[1] Although the same fight is mentioned more than half a dozen times in the illustrative stanzas in the commentary to the *Iṟaiyaṉār-Ahapporuḷ*, the name of the enemy against whom Arikēsari fought on this occasion is unfortunately not once mentioned. As is well known, Sundaramūrti's list of the Śaiva saints furnished the basis of two works by Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi and Śēkkiḻār. Nambi, again, adds nothing to our knowledge about the battle of Nelvēli. Śēkkiḻār in his account of the life of Niṉṟa Śīr-Neḍumāṟa Nāyaṉār tells us that the foes of the Pāṇḍyan king came from a distant country seeking a fight with him and that they were the chief rulers of the northern country.[2] These indications though vague in themselves, may be of some value in deciding whether Neṉmali can be taken to be Nelvēli or not. Udaya Candra the celebrated general of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, fought 'a terrible battle' at Nelvēli against a Śabara king.[3] This battle of Nelvēli fought in the war of the Pallava succession by Udaya Candra against the Śabara king is different from and later than the fight in which Arikēsari Māṟavarman of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant defeated his opponents.[4] There seems to be, however, no reason to suppose that Nelvēli of Udaya Candra's compaigns was not the same place as the scene of Arikēsari's victory. It must, however, be observed that the location of Udaya Candra's Nelvēli must depend on the identity of the Śabara chieftain Udayana. Mr. R. Gopalan observes;[5] "If the

1. See my *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 53, ff.

2. *See* verses 3 and 7 of the life in *Periya purāṇam*; also Dr. S. K. Aiyangar—*Beginnings*, p. 276.

3. S. I. I. II, 367-8 and 372 and Gopalan *Pallavas*, p. 125.

4. See *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*. pp. 51-2 and Dr. S. K. Aiyangar—*Beginnings*, p. 274.

5. *The Pallavas of Kāñcī*, p. 125. It will be seen that, rather inconsistently, Mr. Gopalan grants also that 'Nelvēli is probably identical with Neṉmali.' *Contra* Hultzsch, S. I. I. II, 364.

Śabaras are identical with the modern Sauras of the Ganjam and Vizagapatam District (*sic*) it would not be correct to identify Nelvēli where the Śabara king is said to have been killed with Tinnevelly. It is, therefore, to be identified with some other place on the border of the Telugu districts."

Turning for a moment to Neṉmali made mention of by Tirumaṅgai Āḻvār, we see that here the Pallava king is the victor and the enemy who suffered defeat was a Cēra (Villavaṉ).[1] It is not easy to decide who exactly the Pallava king was that is referred to and on what occasion this fight with the Villavaṉ took place. There are other incidents of a manifestly historical character mentioned by the Aḻvār in this hymn. They are; (*a*) a victory against the Pāṇḍya (st. 2) who is said to have had a mountain fortress (*kuṉṟeyil*) (5); (*b*) A victory at Maṉṉai said to have been won of old (*muṉṉāḷ*) (3); (*c*) a victory against the Pāṇḍya near Karuvūr (7), the Pāṇḍya being mentioned here as the lord of the world (*ulakuḍaimaṉṉavaṉ Teṉṉavaṉai*). Now, are these incidents to be treated as, all of them, relating to the reign of one Pallava ruler, possibly contemporary with the Aḻvār ? Or, are we to understand that Tirumaṅgai has just brought together some incidents in Pallava history to embellish his hymn in praise of a Pallava shrine ?[2] There can not be the least doubt that, on the former hypothesis, the Pallava ruler referred to must be Nandivarman Pallavamalla. The mention of a powerful Pāṇḍya as the opponent of the Pallava, and the references to Maṉṉai and Kuṉṟeyil (which may be the Kālidurga of the Udayēndiram plates) may be taken to support this view. And an ingenious suggestion made by Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar[3] enables us to treat Neṉmali of the Aḻvār's hymn as a reference to Udaya Candra's victory against the Śabara chieftain. The suggestion is that, though Villavaṉ normally means the Cēra king, we may, in this context, take the word to mean a hunter (Śabara). If this view is accepted, then Neṉmali *does* come to be another form of the epigraphical name Nelvēli. But, as the careful reader must have guessed already, there are difficulties in the way. First there is the difference in the forms Neṉmali and

1. Viḍaittiṟal-villavaṉ Neṉmaliyil Veruva-cceru-vēl Valangai piḍitta Paḍaittiṟal Pallavarkōṉ—*Periya Tirumoli*, II, 9, 8.
2. Compare Dr. S. K. Aiyangar *Ancient India*, pp. 410-11.
3. See *Ālvārkaḷ-kālanilai*, p. 101.

Nelvēli which is not easy to account for. Then we have the statement that Maṉṉai was an ancient battle (*muṉṉāḷ*) when the hymn was composed; and lastly the fact that the battle of Karuvūr is not mentioned in the incriptions. It should be remembered also that there is a large assumption underlying this part of the discussion *viz.*, that Tirumaṅgai Aḻvār has, in this hymn, mentioned only the incidents in the reign of his Pallava contemporary.

At least two Nelvēlis appear to be mentioned in the Cōla inscriptions—one of them in Īṅgā-nāḍu (No. 213 of 195) and the other in Nelvēli-nāḍu a subdivision of Teṉkarai Paṉaiyār-nāḍu in Cōḻa-maṇḍalam—(276 of 1916). Though not conclusive as an argument, the suggestion may still be made that Nelvēli which gave its name to a *nāḍu* might have been the celebrated Nelvēli of Sundaramūrti's hymn.

The upshot of the preceding discussion is, therefore, this. We have two battles of Nelvēli and one of Neṉmali. The earliest of these was a Pāṇḍyan (Arikēsari's) victory, possibly against the Pallavas. The second battle of Nelvēli was a Pallava success against a Śabara chieftain. The battle of Neṉmali was either the same as the latter or altogether another historical incident. The questions whether the two battles of Nelvēli were fought in the same place and whether Tirumaṅgai's reference to Neṉmali does relate to the second battle of Nelvēli are too closely bound up with the identity of the Śabara chieftain Udayana for us to be able to answer satisfactorily in the present state of our knowledge about him.

ANCIENT BHṚGUS.

BY

A. PADMANABHAYYA, B.A.,
Pleader, Tirupathi.

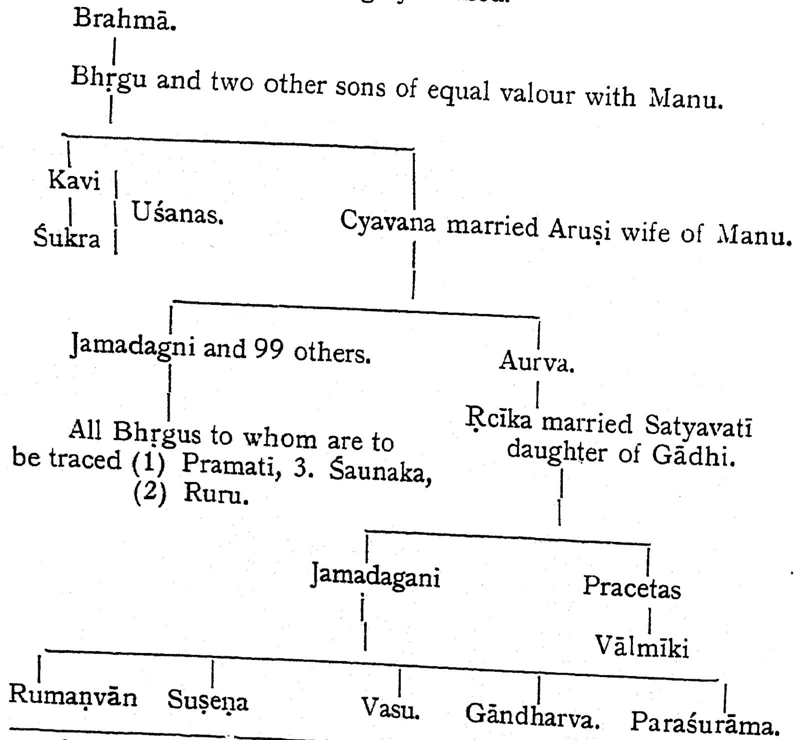
(*Continued from page 67 of Vol. V. Part I.*)

CHAPTER VI.

It is now necessary for us to consider, an account of the Chief Bhṛgu leaders, as we find them in our sacred literature.

The Mahā-Bhārata and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa give their account in some detail.[1]

From the account given in the above works, the following geneological tree may be roughly formed.



1. *See* chapter V and VI Ādi Parva Mahā-Bhārata.
   " " XVI, Ādi Parva do.
   " , XXXIII, Vana Parva do.
   " " CXV, Vana Parva do.
   " Amśa III Ch. III, Viṣṇu Purāṇa.

Bhṛgus—Āṅgirases-Ātharvans—Their World-wide Influence.

The Bhṛgus are originators of the "Fire cult" and from "Fire cult" arose the worship of the Phallus and its counter part that of the *Yoni*, the Puruṣa and Prakṛti—representing the father-hood and mother-hood of the God-head. The union of Father God and Mother Goddess represents production.

Varuṇa is the earliest God and he is the ancestor of the Bhṛgus. Bhṛgu according to the Brāhmaṇa literature is a Vāruṇi or descendant of Varuṇa and the Mahā-Bhārata calls all Bhṛgus as Vāruṇeyas. The 'boundless Aditi' is the consort of boundless Varuṇa and this is the central basis on which the cult of the Bhṛgus is based. Varuṇa combines in himself the two principles. He is the source of the Kṣatra or Virile power of the universe and he is the Māyī or Māyāvī and the sustainer or pre-server and this Māyā or occult power is the female principle which represents the preservative and protective character of the God-head of which Viṣṇu is a later manifestation. One branch of these ancient "Fire worshippers" gave prominence to the "female" element of God-head or Aditi and it is this worship of Aditi which gave rise to the worship of the "Great Mother of Gods" in the Aegean area, a cult carried there from the Bhṛgu-Phrygian-Hittite land. This fact is manifest from the symbolism employed for both aspects of the cult. Varuṇa-Brahma-Rudra are manifestations of the virile power of the Universe and their symbolism is the Phallus and the Bull, and Varuṇa the ancestor of the Bhṛgus is therefore called *Go-pati* or the lord of the Cow or the Bull. The ancient *Go-tamas*, a branch of the Āṅgirases of which Dīrghatamas, the son of Utathya and nephew of Bṛhas-pati is a prominent representative, are the chief repositories of this cult. Dīrghatamas learnt this cult from the children of Surabhi according to the Ādi-Parvā of the Mahā-Bhārata and it is the *Go-vrata* referred to in the Matsya Purāṇa. The Mahā-Bhārata again refers in the Udyoga-Parva to Vipras practising this cult. This universal Cow-Goddess *Go* or Aditi is the guiding Goddess of Vāruṇi = Bhṛgu = Jamadagni and Vāruṇi = Vasiṣṭha whose sacrificial Cow-Goddesses are Surabhi Kalmāṣa, Surabhi Śabala both meaning speckled or spotted and it is curious to find that the founder of Ilum-Troy should be guided by a spotted cow, a gift made to him by a Phrygian King, and Cadmus, the founder of Thebes in Bœtia, should be guided by another Cow. It is interesting also to note the Iconic representation of Jamadagni

guided by Surabhi Kāmadhenu should be found in the country of Śrī Śailam in the Kurnool District of South India. The Greek Hera with Cow's horns, the Egyptian Isis with cow's horns, Zoroaster's respect for the Cow-earth Goddess Araimati, the mythical Pṛthu and the Cow, Brahmā and the earth Goddess often approaching him in the form of a cow show the importance of this cult. Its origin is in Go-Medha-Plakṣa, the ancient land of the Bhṛgus, and the places where we find it are the Colonies of the Bhṛgus. This cow or *Go* is the sacred Gāyatrī, the Mantra *par excellence*, the seer of which is the famous Ṛṣi Viśvāmitra related to the Bhṛgu-Ṛcīka. Gāyatrī is probably traceable to a word which means "Fire Cow". The Āṅgirasa Gautama is a worshipper of Gāyatrī according to the Devī-Bhāgavata and the curses levelled by him against the ungrateful Brahmins who violated his hospitality in a prophetic form shows the degeneracy to which this cult was reduced in its later mutilated manifestations. The Āṅgirasa Gautamas represent the first original thinkers on the first principles of the God-head-Brahmā in opposition to ritualism and the originators of the Saṅkhya Kapila and Gautama Nyāya systems of Philosophy later on presented to us in the degraded Epicureanism of the Greek and the Cārvāka-Lokāyatika system of Bṛhaspati, an Aṅgirasa. Both the Epicureans and Cārvākas had good beginnings and became degraded only later on.[1] The Cārvākas represent the ancient Asura Bhṛgu magical powers. Cārvāka is a word traceable to the Fire God in the Minoan area and suspiciously suggestive of charites allied to Hephœtus, the Pelasgian fire God. Curiously enough the Mahā-Bhārata makes the Cārvāka, an ally of the Kurus, the representatives of the ancient Asuras. Bhṛgu-Aṅgiras Atharvans, have their parallel in the western area of Bhārgava influence—*viz.*, the Caberi, Curetes, Corybantes.[2] The Vasus[3] and the Pitris have their parallel in the Lares Manes of the Pelasgic-Latin—Etruscans with the Vestal vergins or Pitṛ Kanyās. Pitṛ Kanyā *'Go'* is the wife of Śukra Bhārgava. Satyavatī, the wife of Śantanu is a Pitrīya Kanyā according to Harivaṁśa. She is the daughter of Uparicara Vasu. Kuntī is connected with Durvāsas. The Vasus are Pitṛs or Manes or Lares and Gods residing in "Fire".

1. *See also* Greek Pyrrhanism.
2. *See* Maha-Bharata Anus. Chap. LXXXV.
3. There are also eight Caberii like the Vasus—*See* Art: on Phœnicia E. B. 9th Edn.

Almost all the names mentioned in the genealogical tree are names applied either to the "Fire God" or priests of the "Fire God" in Medo Persian History. Brahmā or Baresma, Kavi and Ṛcīka are names of priests mentioned by Sir William Rawlinson. Speaking of the religion of the Parsi community that writer says "Worship is conducted by priests called (1) Kavi (seers) Karapani (sacrificers) Ṛcīka (wisemen). Brahmā according to the Purāṇas is the first or Adi Kavi, and it is he that gave inspiration to Vālmīki, (the son of Ṛcīka, according to Viṣṇu Purāṇa), a hunter in his previous birth. Ṛcīka, a hunter God, is mentioned in the Yajur Veda. Brahmā, the first poet is Jarat Tvaṣṭṛ or Sing-maker and Jarat Tvaṣṭṛ or Zoroaster is thus referable to Brahmā, the first ancestor of the Fire worshipping Zoroastrians. Yima or Yama is an early hero of the Zoroastrian epos; Yama, Djemshid are names from which Jamadagni is certainly traceable. Jamadagni and Djemshid are names which are traceable also in Ishmedagan of the adjacent Babylonian country identifiable with Śālmali Dvīpa of our Purāṇa. Urva or Aurva is a name also traceable in the early Babylonian Priest Kings.

These names are sufficient for us to say that Plakṣa and Kuśa, which cover Medo Persia, are the original place of the early Bhṛgus.

We have now to see whether we can find the names of these mystic people in other countries. This leads us to the consideration of (1) "Caberii" (2) "Curetes" (3) "Corybantis", mystic mythical names connected with Fire-cult, which we find in the history of the Phœnicians, the Pelasgians, the Etruscans and the Greeks.

(1) *Caberii.*—Hephæstus is an early Greek fire God traced to the Pelasgic race. He is the lightning God and Homer says that Hephæstus was hurled from heaven by his father Zeus. It is said "wherever a Pelasgic race is found, most certain there the God is found associated with Caberii". Herodotus finds the Caberii in the Pelasgic settlements of Samothrace, and Imbros with its Itty Phallic emblem. Hephæstus is called the Cabirus *par excellence*".

Hence the equation is possible Cabirus = Kavi Hephæstus = Kavi or the best fire God.

"According to Pindar, this Hephæstus or Cabirus, is the lightning that has descended to the earth, and became the origin of all life and the first man[1]".

In Pelasgic Athens, Hephæstus occupied a very high place along with Athene. In the oldest Greek traditions Hephæstus and Athene would appear to be the parents of Erichthonus, the serpent God. Once it is admitted that Athens owes its origin to a Pelasgic fire worshipping race, we have a clue to the names—Hatti—Athene—traceable to Atty—the fire Fig emblem. Athene is thus a fire Goddess, probably the earth Goddess, who gave birth to Erichthonus the serpent or Nāga. Nāgas are fire-born and also earth-born. The two Asura religions, Jainism and Buddhism are of Nāga or Kṣatriya origin. The Kurus are certainly Nāgas as would appear from a comparison of the Kuru names with those of Nāgas given in the Mahā-Bhārata. Hence, Kuru, Nāga, Hittite, Bhṛgu are in a way synonymous. Cecrops the Nāga or Serpent King of Athens has suspiciously the characteristic of a Jain Tīrthaṅkara. Jain Tīrthaṅkaras have serpent emblems. Zeus Phratreus puts us in mind of Vrātya, the supreme God head mentioned in the Praśnopaniṣad and the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa.

The common link to connect the Kurus, Nāgas, Hittites Phœnicians, Ikṣvākus are the "Curetis" identified with the Caberii.

(2) *Curetes* and (3) *Corybantes.*—

The Curetes are held to be synonymous with Corybantes. I suspect that the Krauñca Dvīpa of the Purāṇas is called after these corybantes and the symbolism of the double headed eagle of Eyuk near Boghaz Kieu Hatti represents this symbolism. It may be the same as the Phœnix or the double Phœnix representative of the Sun God or the Fire God, Bhānu referred to in Ch. 223 of the Vanaparva of Mahā-Bhārata as the son of Angiras.

Curetes are priests who brought up Zeus. Their influence like that of Caberii is seen in the Pelasgic area in some place names. The island of Crete is called after them Curetes. Cures is a town in Italy inhabited by the Quirites, an ancient tribe traceable to the Pelasgic Etruscans.

Surat and Barygaza (Broach) in India connect them through the Bhṛgus. Sūri is a word in Sanskrit meaning learned, a term which may without any hesitation be applied to the Bhṛgu-

1. *See* Enc. Britta. 9th Edition, Art on Fire.

Vipras. The Yadus accompanied Bhṛgus and Purāṇic evidence is that Kuśasthalī founded by a descendant of Cyavana Bhārgava was later on occupied by Yādavas under Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Raivata a descendant of this Cyavana married his daughter to Balarāma. The Yadus are related to Sūra-Senas, which may mean leaders of Curetes. The Bhṛgus are prominently connected with the Yadus. Chāndogyopaniṣad says that Śrī Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra is a pupil of Ghora Aṅgirasa—a name synonymous or at any rate connected with the Bhṛgus. Harivaṁśa mentions that Kṛṣṇa visited Paraśurāma before he attacked Śṛgāla Vāsudeva. In the Mokṣa Dharma Parva, it is Śrī Kṛṣṇa that relates to Yudhiṣṭhira the greatness of Śiva, when Bhīṣma pleaded his inability.

The Ghoras or Aṅgirases of which sage Durvāsas is the type, (he is called Ghora in the Mahā-Bharata Ādi-Parva) are probably the same as the Ghorbastae referred to in Persian History and are probably also related to the Corybantes.

Another ancient people directly connected with the Caberii are the ancient Phœnicians. The writer of the article on Phœnicia in the Enc. Britta. 9th Edition says regarding the religion of the Phœnicians.—" Peculiar to Berytus is the worship of Poseidon and other sea-Gods, who are connected genealogically with Zeus Belus, a son of *El*, born beyond the Euphrates, and perhaps therefore connected with the Babylonian fish Gods. Berytus was also the Chief seat of the worship of the Caberii,[1] the seven nameless sons of Sydek, with their brother Eshmun, who is the eighth and the greatest of Caberii". The learned writer of the article again says "The Phœnicians themselves regarded as not primitive the many Egyptian elements which were quite early introduced into the religion of the Caberii and especially of Eshmun. On the other hand, a figure allied to Eshman Taaut, the inventor of the Alphabet is certainly borrowed from the Egyptian Tehuti. So too Onka is probably the Anuka of Sais, and it is possible that the whole cycle of Gods who revealed and interpreted the sacred books is Egyptian, some of the latter have the form of a serpent". Ethiopean Egypt called Kesh or Cush is a colony of the ancient Elam, or Kuśa Dvīpa, a fact which is established by archælogical connections.[2]

1. *Cf.* Śyamanta Pañcaka, the pools of the Pitṛs of Paraśurāma.

2. *See* Enc. Britta. 13th Edition.

" The two lowest strata belong to the stone age, and the first is characterised by a thin fine pottery with yellow paste decorated with geometrical patterns, and animal or vegetable figures in black and brown red. Some of it is similar to the Pre-historic pottery of Egypt". The God of ancient Elam Susinak worshipped also under the secret title of Atmanu, at Nitum Dilvan, a God too sacred to be seen by mortal eyes, has its counter part in ancient Egyptian religion. The writer of the article on Ancient Egyptian Religion 9th Edition says "The Solar group consists of Ra, or else Mentu, and Atmu, and Shu. Mentu, and Atmu are only a division of Ra, into his chief phases, the rising and setting Sun, the Sun of the upper and the lower world. Both are solar divinities. Shu, the solar light, is the son of Ra, or Mentu or Atmu". The Bhāgavata corroborates this when it says that the people of Kuśa Dvīpa are worshippers of Ātman. It is curious that this God of Elam should be worshipped unseen at Chidambaram, in South India, otherwise known as *Tillaivanam* under its Elamite name Dilvan. Shuṣan the city of Varuṇa is in Elam and the description of the Egyptian God refers to Mitrā-Varuṇā, and the Phœnician Eshmun and eight Caberii are Nāga fire Gods referred to in our literature as Vasus. Elam is the country of Nāga King Vāsuki and of Āryaka, the ancestor of Kuntī, favoured with children by Dur*vāsas*. Eshmun, the eigth Caberii reminds us of Bhīṣma of the Mahā-Bhārata. Bhīṣma is the eighth Vasu, born as son of Śantanu, the Kuru King. He is the disciple of Bhārgava Paraśurāma, as Droṇa and Karṇa, other adept bowmen referred to in the Mahā-Bhārata.

The Curetes are worshippers of Zeus (Palasgian) who has all the characteristics of the Proto-Āryan Varuṇa.[1] This Zeus has all the characteristics of the Vedic Varuṇa. The collapse of Zeus in the west and of Varuṇa in the east runs on parallel lines. Orphic hymns are traceable to "Ouvrva" a Bhṛgu. The above comparative account sufficiently familiarises us with the connection of the Bhṛgus and their cult and the relics of their existence is to be found in certain fetishes symbo-

1. *See* Bloomfield's "Religion of Veda" page 83 which shows the characteristics of the original Zeus as found by Hesiod and the Orphic hymns. " The eye of Zeus which sees all and knows all" Hesiod. "Zeus is the beginning, Zeus is the middle, on Zeus all is founded " Oryhic hymn.

lised under various heads, *viz.,* Tree-stone—Bull and weapons. The God of the Bhṛgus is Rudra-Brahmā as creative principle. In his terrible aspect as punisher, his weapon also is introduced. In his protective character, the cow and *Yoni* and the breast full of milk are introduced. As a creator, the symbolism is the Phallus and Bull.

(1) *Phallus* :—Orvieto in Italy.
Imbros in the AEgean Area.
Phallica of Egypt.
Phallic festivities of Athens.
Phillistine Baal (Peor).
Lydian Phallic emblems.

(2).........*Bull* or *Nandī.*

Minotaurus of Crete (Zeus Zagreus) and the Bull with long yard horns referred to by Mahaffy.
The Bull on the Flag of the Jewish Warrior.
Apis of Egypt.
Bull emblem of Lydia Assyria and Babylon.
Persia and Baluchistan and Afghanistan.
Assyrian Bulls—Assyrian Flag.

(3) *Double Axe Labryn* or *Paraśu.*

Sandon of Cilicia.
Labryn or axe of AEgean area.

(4) *Cow* and *Yoni.*

Representing the female principle-fiddle shaped stones of AEgean area.

(5) *Symbolism of the Dove* or *Pigeon.*

On the Goddess in the AEgean area.
On the Goddess in the Hittite City of Membij

According to Christian symbology the Dove is the emblem of Holy Ghost, representing the fire or spirit or God. The Dove is a sacred bird of the Syrians and their Goddess Semiramis like Śakuntalā was brought up by Doves. The Dove is a bird of good omen in the western countries and Asia Minor. In the semitic flood legend, it is this bird that indicated to Noah the setting of land. But curiously enough it is a bird of evil omen with the Ṛg Vedic Āryan[1] and it is mentioned as the bird of

1. **Ṛg Veda, X,** 164.

Yama or God of Destruction, may be Fire. But in the AEgean area it is the symbolism of love or Kāma which is also the product of Fire—Kāma is an important God in Atharva Veda. It symbolises the sexual craving of the "Great Mother" for production and the union with the Universal father is to be brought about by Fire. It may be that this was the original idea taken by the ancient Bhṛgus to their colonies and lost to us because in the Ṛg Veda prominence is given to Puruṣa and not to Prakṛti—Patriarchy in preference fo Matriarchy. But Kālidāsa, a worshipper of the "*Universal Mother*" introduces Agni into the presence of Śiva in the form of a dove who talks to the God on love affairs.[1] The story of Śibi reveals Agni in the form of a Dove pursued by Indra, the hawk.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BOW SYMBOLISM AND DHANUR VEDA.

There is another symbolism of the ancient God Varuṇa the God of Bhṛgus by which is manifested his Kṣatra or power and which connects him with the ancient Assyrians. This symbolism travelled from Assyria to the southern most corner of South India a portion of the ancient Bhārgava country—Dhanush Koṭi and Kerala. It is the bow or Dhanus. The ancient Bhṛgus from Varuṇa—Rudra downwards to Paraśurāma are adepts in the art. Jamadagni, Ṛcīka, Paraśurāma are mentioned in the Mahā-Bhārata as repositories of Dhanurveda or Archery and that is why Bhīṣma, Droṇa and Karṇa are mentioned as pupils of Paraśurāma.

It is the symbolism of "Bow" that establishes the identity of Varuṇa, Rudra or Śiva over and above the statements in the Mahā-Bhārata relied on by Mr. Pargiter in his ancient Indian Historical Tradition page 185 " Śiva who had the form of Varuṇa took Bhṛgu as his son"—basing his statement on Mahā-Bhārata Ānuśāsanika Parva, ch. 85.

Rudra's powerful bow is an oft repeated theme in the Veda. Varuṇa's bow is equally powerful. Scholars like Bloomsfield Maxmuller and Ragozin have shown us the all importance of Pre-Historic God Varuṇa and established his identity with

1. *See* " Kumāra Sambhava," Chap. IX.

(1) Zeus (Palasgian) later on subordinated to Poseidon-Neptune.

(2) Ahurmazda of Zoroaster.

(3) Ashur-Assur of Assyria.

(4) Varuṇa-subordinated to "Lord of Waters" and as Lord of a cardinal point.

(5) Yahveh of the jew.

Assyria gives us the key to solve the importance of the bow symbolism. The bow is the symbol of Ashur and a land of the bow is referred to in the Babylonian History.[1] In its wars with the South, Kish was often assisted by another Northern Kingdom, the reading of the name of which, and consequently its precise situation, is still uncertain. The name has been read as the "Land of the Bow". Thanks to the publishers of the New Standard English Dictionary who gave us an image of this God with the bow symbolism and connected him with the Heaven God Anu of the Babylonian and Yahaveh of the Jew. Varuṇas's powerful bow is presented to King Janaka Videha of Ramāyāṇa. Varuṇa presents the bow Gāṇḍīva to Arjuna in the Bhārata. Asura Varuṇa, Ashur of Assyria are thus Gods of Janaka Videha, the descendant of Nimi, and of the Assyrian the descendant of Nimrod—the first founder of Assur. This symbolism travelled to the west coast of India as far as Dhanuṣkoṭi, or end of the bow. The Bhils of Rajaputana and Asirgarh and Turanmal in Bombay sacred to the great bowman Aṅgirasa Aśvatthāmā, are middle posts. Kerala or Cera, the reputed country of Paraśu-rāma, adopts the bow symbolism in the flag of the Cera Kings—a fact amply supported by the existence of Villavars referred to by Mr. Kanakasabhai, in his "Tamils 1800 years ago." According to Purāṇic evidence Agastyas and Pulastyas are identical and Pulastya is the source of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa who got the lore from Bhṛgu. According to Rāmāyaṇa, Agastya the son of Mitrā-Varuṇa is a famous Ṛṣi, who presented a bow to Śrī Rāma and eventually settled in the South. The Bhṛgu Dravidian Ṛṣis are later on stigmatised as Brahma Rākṣasas; the God Varuṇa is displaced and later Indra Parjanya husband of Sītā (the Furrow

1. *See* Assyria and Babylon :—Enc. Britta. 9th and 10th Edition —Assyria and Babylon Volume, XXVI. The land "ur" of the Chaldees is also noted for its long bow archers.

Goddess) in metamorphosed into Rāma, husband of Sītā, and is said to have killed Rāvaṇa Asura, the same as Varuṇa Rudra or his protegee. All this is attempted to be done by later sectarian bias to give prominence to one of the triune aspects of Varuṇa, as Protector Preserver namely Viṣṇu. The existence of many versions of the Rāmāyaṇa is proof positive of this. The original Rāmāyaṇa is lost to us and of its existence and of its relation to the worship of Varuṇa and Vāyu there is the internal evidence in the Rāmāyaṇa itself. Mahā-Bhārata in the Ādi-Parva refers to a Ramo-Pākyāna under the authorship of Uśanas. The Hari-Vaṁśa refers to a Rāmāyaṇa dramatised and enacted by the children of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the Yādava. In fact the authorship of Rāmāyaṇa attributed to Vālmīki is called in question by Aśva-Ghoṣa in his Buddha Caritra who attributes it to Cyavana Bhārgava, the ancestor of the Raivatas, who are allied to the Yadus. Cyavana is a blind sage rejuvenated by the Dioscuri or Aśvins. The Dioscuri are Gods of the Bhṛgus and are clubbed with the Cabirii. They are found in all the countries wherever we find a Bhārgava race. As Gods of the sea farers and as Medicine Gods, they are closely associated with Varuṇa and Rudra. Though mentioned together they have separate names—Castor and Pollux in the West; Nāsatya and Dasra sons of the Eighth Āditya, Mārtāṇḍa in the East.[1] They are Śūdras among the Gods probably because they are Medicine Gods. They represent the priest-hood of ancient Babylon, the Aspinu, and Śukra Bhārgava is a Sukhur or a priest of the Babylonian and Dioscuri probably means the Gods of the Curitis or Caberoi. The Ass or the Donkey is their vehicle and the name Dasra is also applied to the Ass. In the Ṛg-Veda[2] one Kṛṣṇa addresses these Gods as coming in a cart driven by the ass. An ass is always associated in the worship of Śrī Kṛṣṇa in the South and the apparent reason seems to be that it represents the Aśvins, the Gods of the Yadus, who came to our country along with the Bhṛgus from over the seas. One tribe of the Yadus are Dasarhas probably named after Dasra, one of the Aśvins. The Aśvins thus represent the God of the Asura Yadus —children of Asura-Madhu. Aśvins are always associated with a woman and the Dioscuri appearing with a woman (their wife or sister not known) is depicted on one of the Etruscan vases found in the excavations of one of their buried cities. Puru-

1. *See* Mahā-Bhārata Śānti-Parva, 208.
2. Ṛg.-Veda, I, 34-9—VIII, 74-7.

ṣottama Kṣetra in the Kaliṅga country is probably a temple of the Dioscuri and their sister. Kaliṅgas are noted ancient sea faring people.

Paraśurāma's overthrow, the incidents of Tāṭakā, Mārīca, Dūṣaṇa, Subāhu, Khara, Śūrpaṇakhā are incidents, I believe relating to the overthrow of Aśvins the subordinate Gods of Varuṇa. Exigencies of space and time forbids me to enter at great length into the account in our two epics to show how the children of Varuṇa the Pulastyas and the Kurus, are said to have been worsted at the hands of the votaries of Indra. Indra Parjanya triumphing and recovering Sītā from Varuṇa (El Ruphon) the Pulastya is the theme of the Rāmāyaṇa. Indra's son triumphing over Kurus is the theme of the Bhārata. The Kurus are curiously said in the Bhārata[1] to be the reanimated spirits of the ancient Pulastyas and the Yādavas are all said to be Asuras; the irony is both Rāma and Arjuna derive their power from the bows presented tothem by Varuṇa.

Ikṣvākus, Yadus—Kurus.

The original cradle of these races having been traced along with that of the Bhṛgus to the ancient Plakṣa and Kuśa Dvīpas it is but reasonable to expect an account of our Epics and the doings and history of their heroes in the countries represented by Kuśa and Plakṣa Dvīpas.

CHAPTER VIII.

It is necessary that we consider here the account of Śālmali and Krauñca Dvīpas mentioned in the Purāṇas as it is necessary to know how the Bhṛgus, from their central seat in Plakṣa and Kuśa, dispersed in various directions.

Śālmali Dvīpa.

Without entering into the details of geography and Ethnology, mentioned in the Purāṇas, we may identify this country with Kurdistan, Mesapotamia, Northern portion of Syria and some portion of Cappodocia on its western side as far as the Euphretes. According to the Purāṇas the island is so called from a Śālmali, or silk cotten tree. The discussion of the details, though interesting, will be wearying at this stage. Babylonia must be partly located in Kuśa and partly in Śālmali.

1. Ādi Amśāvatāra Parva.

The word Śālmali must give us the clue to the identity Garuḍa is according to the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa known as Śālmalistha शाल्मलिस्थ: or one sitting on Śālmali. But really Śālmali is not a tree but a country. The Historians History of the World[1] gives us a picture of an eagle headed man or God carrying in his hands a vessel, which to the Indian mytholigist must certainly carry the idea that it is Garuḍa, the son of Kāśyapa, who according to both Mahā-Bhārata and Rāmāyaṇa is known as Ariṣtha Nemi, the vessel in the hand denoting अमृतकलश. Another picture given at Vol. II, page 573[2] symbolises the defeat of Assyria at the hands of Medo Persia. These two pictures considered along with another at page 562 of Enc. Britta. 13th Edition Vol. II, page 562 will leave us no alternative but to accept that Garuḍa represents an Assyrian hero or Demi-God and is therefore symbolised in Assyrian monuments. Garutmān and Suparṇa are also mentioned in the mythology of the Zoroastrians. According to the Vedic evidence,[3] Regozin's 'Vedic India' Suparṇa or Garuḍa is the vehicle of Varuṇa and the wings of the disc represent the wings of Garuḍa. In later mythology when Varuṇa is displaced by Viṣṇu he is made the vehicle of Viṣṇu. Ancient Assyria comprises mostly modern Kurdistan. Kurdistan itself means the country of Kadru, the mother of the Nāgas, step brothers of Garuḍa. Assur—Ashur—Ahura is identical with Varuṇa. "Ashur was the God of the people of Asher. His peculiar symbol was the winged disc".[4] "The Asuras are noted for magic, medicine, sculpture, architecture, and military prowess. The ancient Persians not only succeeded to the empire of Ashur but absorbed and cherished its culture."[5]

Nimrod is the earliest eponymous Hero of this country and Nimeṣa is the son of Garuḍa and Ariṣthanemi is his father (Mahā-Bhārata Udyoga-Parva, Ch. 101). Śālmali is the name of a Kuru King, the founder of Kurukṣetra, according to the Mahā-Bhārata.[6] Kurukṣetra is the land of the Kurus and the Kurus are

1. History of Assyria, Vol. I, p. 345.
2. History of Persia.
3. *See* Ṛg-Veda.
4. Cambridge ancient History, Vol. III, p. 90; *compare* Iranian Zend Avestic winged Garorman (S. B. E. Vol. IV, p. 221) symbol of Ahura. Fargard XIX ii (a).
5. Asura India by Banerjee Sastri, page 7.
6. Ādi-Parva, chapter 101. He is the son of Avikṣit.

the Nāgas. Almost all names of Kuru Kings are names of Nāgas which we find in the Astīka-Parva of the Bhārata. Their connection with the Kurus is apparent from the fact that Astīka, son of Jaratkaru and nephew of serpent King Vāsuki of Pātāla, is a pupil of Cyavana Bhārgava according to the Mahā-Bhārata.[1] In fact Utanka, the pupil of Veda extols the Nāgas Takṣaka and others as if situated on the banks of Ikṣumatī near Kurukṣetra. The Nāgas being related to Garuḍas, the country of Garuḍa being Assyria, interesting issues arise as to the situation of Kurukṣetra, the former Samanta Pañcaka of Bhārgava Paraśurāma, situated near the Naimiśa forest. Kurukṣetra is the sacred land near the river Sarasvatī on the banks of which is situate the Uttara Vedi, or, Northern altar of Brahmā, the first ancestor of the Bhṛgus.

The affinity of names and their accounts in the Babylonian Ellamite, and Assyrian History namely Sargon of Agade, and his vestal virgin mother, Semiramis, Derketo, the fish Goddess Birth and Death Story of Cyrus the great of Arshah and many other names and incidents, to Sūta Karṇa, Kuntī, Śakuntalā Ajāmiḍa, Pitṛkanyā Satyavatī, the daughter of Uparicara and Adrika, Vāsudeva, Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Kaṁsa and quite a number of similar names and incidents led me into an investigation of the matter and leads me to the belief that the great war of Mahā-Bhārata, if it has ever taken place at all, occurred in the ancient land of Elam on the banks of Aksu (same as Ikṣumatī) and what we have in India is only a colonial account. It is connected with the account of ancient Asuras and that is why we find no reference to it in the post-Vedic Brāhmaṇa literature except some names and the Purāṇas and the Epics being Asura Literature as seen from the statements found in the works themselves preserve the same in detail. The reverse theory of the Ellamite place names being colonial ones is not possible in the face of Epigraphical Evidence of the brick inscription of King Pukhia, of Tuschurmati. Mr. C. W. Johns in his book on Assyria, Cambridge Manual, page 12, says "A brick found at Tuschurmati, on the Aksu, a tributary of Adhan or Rhodanus, bears an inscription of Pukhia, son of Asiru, king of Kurushitu. It is written in Semitc." The name of King Pukhia reminds us of the Ikṣvāku King Pauṣya who along with Janamejaya, son of Parīkṣit, appointed Veda, a pupil of Upamanyu, as his preceptor according to the Pauṣya-Parva of the Mahā-Bhārata. This Puṣya or Pauṣya is the

1. *Cf.* Babylonian Priest King Utug.

Ikṣvāku King Saudāsa for whose patronage Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra so strenuously fought and which I believe lead to the famous Dasaragna war of the Ṛg Veda. Some miles to the south of this Tuschurmati[1] the map shows the ruins of a place called Kurustud. That this is a Kuru Settlement is amply born out by the statement in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, which mentions the Kurus and Āryakas as people residing in Plakṣa Dvīpa. Plakṣa and Kuśa Dvīpas together form the various Kuru countries, *viz.*, Deva Kurus, Uttara Kurus, Kuru proper including Kuru Jāṅgala. The Bhārata clearly supports this.

Naimiśa forest, is in Babylonian Elamite country and the curious story of its origin being due to a wheel (Nimi) sent by Brahmā to show the way to the Ṛṣis to select a sacred place for doing penance is nothing more than the winged wheel of Asur, or the wheel of Hammurabhi of Babylon, both preserving the memories of Nimrod, the son of Cush, according to the Jehovistic portion of the genealogy of nations. Critical students of the Bible find it difficult to find Nimrod to be the son of Cush. But the name of Nimrod occurs also in the book of Micah V 6 "Land of Ashur" "Land of Nimrod". The Purāṇic genealogy of Nimi and Kuśadhvaja will solve the difficulty. Nimi is an Ikṣvāku, and the priest Kings of Assyria are called Isakku. Abraham and Isac are Ikṣvāku Bhārgava priests and Assyrian history gives ample testimony of the rule of the Ikṣvākus in Assur and Mittani from days of King Māndhātā and his ascetic son-in-law Subari. Euphrates is the land of Bharatas, (Eu—Water) the leader of whom is the famous Viśvāmitra and the destruction of the Yadus brought about by the curse of Viśvāmitra and Kaṇva at the holy place of Piṇḍarika is an event which must have occurred at the reedy mouths of the Euphrates. Piṇḍarika is a Nāga and a son of Viśvāmitra.

The Bhārata is a redaction of the Śaunakas who got the same from the Sūtas or Cuthites of Kuzistan Elam. The Śaunakas are Bhṛgu Priest Kings probably of Babylon known as Su-anna. It is probable that River Tigris is named after Sigra the great-grand-son of Puṣya or Pukhia according to the genealogy of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa.

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1. *See* map in the Atlas published in the last Volume of the 9th Edition of Encyclopaedia Brittanica.

The date of Pukhia (Puṣya), contemporary of Janamejaya is placed during the period of the first dynasty of Babylon which scholars place about 2700 B. C. The attempt of scholars to fix the date of the Bhārata War is therefore a wild goose chase, and if it is to be fixed the traditional date of the Purāṇas appears to be correct namely the end of Dvāpara.

The Kurus, Yadus, and Ikṣvākus entered our country along with the Bhṛgus. The events of the rule of the Raghus and Kosalas from Ayodhyā can have no historical basis. According to the account of the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki, the Daṇḍakas cannot form part of the kingdom of Daśaratha. The statement in the Uttara Rāmāyaṇa that the Daṇḍakas are named after a Daṇḍa, brother of Ikṣvāku, a Bhoja king, and his being cursed by Śukra, a Bhārgava, supports the entry of Ikṣvākus into India along with the Bhṛgus. The Bhojas like the Nimi Videha Ikṣvākus are children of Nimrod—mighty hunter Kings with their settlements on the coast at Bhoja Kataka and Mṛttikāvatī. Their children are the later Kadambas and Ikṣvākus whose inscriptions are being unearthed at Nāgārjuna Hill. They are related to the Agastyas whose leader Agastya married their princess Lopā-Mudrā. The relationship of these Bhojas and the family of the Yadus is amply testified to by the Purāṇas and the statement of Rāma in the Rāmāyaṇa addressing Vālī near Kiṣkindhā, and telling him that the forest and the spot of ground on which he was standing belongs to Ikṣvākus cannot be supported if Ayodhyā is the centre. The names of the children of Rāma and his brothers is traceable to the Ellamite country and Pātāla. Assyrian Ashur the city of Nimrod, is also known as Patialki.

Rāmāyaṇa is purely an esoteric work, blending in itself the events and incidents in the Babylonian or Assyrian accounts of the Epic of Gilgamish with the RAM-YASHT of Zendavesta. The following points deserve notice.

1. Uruk (Supari-well guarded) is the well guarded Ayodhyā.

2. Isdubar its King has an Ikṣvāku flavour about him.

3. Great prominence is given to dreams in Gilgamish epic. In Rāmāyaṇa the dreams of Bharata and Trijaṭā deserve notice.

4. Eabani is similar to Hanumān the Monkey with the body of a beast and the wisdom of a man.

5. Eabani is tempted by a harlot and brought to civilised life like Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, the son of *Ruru*, or, Deer. Eabani is the son of Goddess A-*Ruru*.

6. The entry of Gilgamish into limitless darkness and his coming to the seashore after seeing light and trees and passing by a tree and grove with precious stones for fruit is similar to the entry of the monkeys into the cave of Svayam Prabhā and exit therefrom to the seacoast.

7. Rammon is the wind god mentioned in the Gilgamish epic. Rāma exhibits the qualities of the Wind God or Mahā Bala in casting Mārīca many miles away with Vāyavya astra and by casting away Dundubhi's corpse to a great distance by the mere touch of his toe and by throwing down with one arrow seven big palm trees.

8. Sitna Pishtam in the Gilgamish epic cures Gilgamish by the use of a plant having power to prolong life. Lakṣmaṇa in the Rāmāyaṇa is cured by the use of a similar plant brought by Hanumān from Droṇagiri.

9. The tale of the Eagle trying to reach the Sun (Shamash) and dying in the attempt is similar to the fate which Sampāti in Rāmāyaṇa says was brought on him by trying to effect a similar feat.

10. The rejection of the love advances of Ishtar is the cause of trouble to Gilgamish and the rejection of the love of Śūrpaṇakhā is the cause of the trouble of Rāma.

The connection of Rāma with the Ram Yasht of Zend-avesta carrys the esoteric nature of the theme still nearer.

Ram is the wind God of the Zendavesta. According to Ṛg Veda the wind God or Vāyu is the first of gods, and he has the right to the first drink of Soma. He may be identical with Indra or Varuṇa, both sky goods. Rāma's characteristics as a Wind God we have already seen. He is a descendant of Raghu and as such a Rāghava. Raghu is traceable to a root meaning "swift goer". Rāma is the best Raghu or Raghma. Ragh in the Median country, the city of Zoroaster, is the seat of Raghus probably. Like the Ram of the Zoroastrians the allied Bhārgava races have their wind God.

Phœnician—Kolpia.
Hittite—Thesup.
Babylonian—Ramman or Bin.

The latter Assyrian mounts this idea in the wheel symbolism with wings. The South Indian Kohls have their Cokka-

liṅga or Soku Liṅga or Vāyu Liṅga. Soku is a Dravidian word meaning Wind. Marā the evil striker is seen in the word Marut as applied to the Wind God. Vālmīki before he became a sage was asked to utter the word Marā which was transformed into Rāma. But the point of interest for us is the connection of Ram with our Rāmāyaṇa. The wind God Ram was worshipped according to Zoroaster by Kareseswa and ever so many others. The Aṅgirasa Bhārgava weapons presented to Rāma by Viśvāmitra which circumambulated him as servants 33 in number —are the sons of Ṛṣi Bhṛśāśva. (Identified with sons of Kṛśāśva in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa.)

The 33 Gods are traditionally mentioned from the Ṛg Vedic days and the Buddhists connect Buddha also with the heaven of 33 Gods.

CHAPTER VIII.

Krauñca Dvīpa.

The country occupied by the five sons of Shem according to the 10th chapter of the book of Genesis are—

1. The country of Elam.
2. Asuur, Media, Persia, Babylon, Chaldæa.
3. Arphaxad or Arabia.
4. Lud-Lydia: Phrygia, Cappadocia, and Asia Minor.
5. Aram—the upper portion of the country between the Tigris and the Euphrates.

We may identify Krauñca Dvīpa with item 4 above. Apart from the results obtained from a discussion of the details given in the Viṣṇu and other Purāṇas, a statement in the Mahā-Bhārata Bhīṣma-Parva regarding Mæonia fully corroborates the identity. Lydia and the 3 countries mentioned with it show traces of Bhārgava influence in every respect. The flood account is connected with Babylon and Medo-Persia. A fire cataclysm is connected with this country and corroboration for both is found in the Dravidian Dekhanese country and in our epics. The destruction of the cities of the plain mentioned in the Bible, the scene of which still eludes the Biblical Archæologist, has its counter-part in the destruction of Daṇḍaka by the anger of Bhārgava Śukra in the Uttara Rāmāyaṇa. The Fire cataclysm of Catacomana in the Phrygia Mænian country with its lake Cœle has its counter part in the Veṅgināḍu (दग्धराष्ट्र)

or burnt country as its counter part in the Dekhanese Andhra country with the lake Kolleru. The Goddess of Ephesus, whose temple is said to have been founded by Androgus and to whom the bee is sacred has her counter part in Śrī Śailam with a bee Goddess Bhramarāmbikā. A pond near the temple called Paraśu-rāma tank shows the Bhārgava origin of the shrine. These coincidences point to the migration of a common race with common traditions and these are Agnikula Bhṛgus.

The Phrygian or Bhṛgu origin of Ilium has already been seen and it is strengthened by the representation in art, of Paris the Trojan Hero with a Phrygian cap. This is the ancient land of the Hittites and the proverbial wealth of the Phrygian Midas, the Trojan Priam, attributable to their worship of (Great Mother) Mā, or Bhārgavī is corroborated by the accounts in the Mahā-Bhārata of the proverbial wealth of the ancient Bhṛgus and their being rooted out by the avaricious Kṣattriyas to secure their wealth.[1]

The Phrygians are the oldest people in the world, and the Hittites and Palasgians from the Phrygian countries extended their migration to the Etruscan country a fact sufficiently strongly well established by the writings of the western scholars.[2] The ancient Franks are the remnants of the ancient Trojans and their Bhṛgu connection with their battle axes is seen in the account of this race in the Encyclopædia Brittanica 9th Edition but curiously enough this portion is omitted in the 13th Edition.

It is also found by western scholars that the founders of Ilium proceeded from Elam or Kuśa Dvīpa. It must be the land of Kussar held by Professor Sayce to be the original country of the Hittites. Elam thus represents the cradle of the Bhṛgus, the Kurus, the Hittites, the Phœnicians, the Yadus, and the Ikṣvākus. The migration of the Bhṛgus must, I think, synchronise with the conquest of Babylon by the Kassites, a branch of the ancient Hittites. Kāśyapa took the entire land of Paraśurāma, the last Bhārgava, as a gift and unceremoniously drove him out of the country. This must have occured about 2400 B.C.

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1. *See* account of Bhārgava Aurva in the Ādi Parva of the Bhārata.
2. *See* Articles on Etruscans, Lydia, Phrygia, Cappadocia, and Asia Minor generally in the Enc. Britta. 9th Edition and 13th Edition.

CHAPTER IX.

EL-the name of God Head.

Elam is the original land of the Bhṛgus, the children of Varuṇa. Elam means, the land of El or God and Varuṇa is El, the common name for God-head among all the Semitic races. Bhṛgu-Dravidian and Semetic both preserve the word and connects the common origin of both, Shem and Kṣema (Garuḍa) are the connecting links. Semitic -Ilu, El, Ilah, Allah, El-Elum meaning high, most high "Lord" are words applicable to Varuṇa, the "King" met with in the pages of Ṛg Veda—the Semitic relationship of man to the God-head, being, that of servant and master. In the Mediterranean lands, the names Eleusis, Elopia, Eleusiania and the people who observe them, *viz.*, Celeans, Philiasians, Pheneatei, Lacædemonians, Parrhasians, and Cretans, and the name of Eleleus, a surname of Bachus, to whom the fig was sacred, and the names Eleleis applied to the Priestesses indicates to us the all importance of this word "El". Allat is Moon Goddess and Helen of Troy received divine honor in some places. Dravidian "Alamaram" a name applied to the Ficus Indica sacred to Śiva means nothing more than "God's Tree", the God being Bachus-Śiva-Eleleus. It is the name of this God that was uttered by the ancient Asuras referred to by Patañjali and the Brāhmaṇas. The meaning is not understood and is unjustly rediculed. There cannot be a more fitting time to the Asura to call upon the name of his God than when pressed by the foe in the din of battle. "He layo, Helayo" is a mutilation of Eleleus by the later Vedic Sanskritists and the God of the Asuras is Varuṇa.

The earliest Dravidian language must be the language of Plakṣa and Kuśadvīpas or the Pehlevi, Aramiac. Ancient words in the Assyrian and Babylonian records are words of Dravidian import and Bishop Caldwell has sufficiently established the Dravidian connection of Elamite languages. He calls the Brāhmī Dravidian, Brāhmī, for obvious reasons. Phœnicians are the originators of the Alphabet and Brāhmī-lipi is based upon Aramiac, a language whose influence on the languages of all countries from India to Mediterranean is apparent from the histories of all the countries intervening. Paiśācī language is the parent of all these languages along with Pushtu. "The "Nānāvatāyee" in the Pushtu which means "I have come in"

—the rule of Asylum gives the direct contradiction to its Āryan connection.

The Ethiopic or Cushite engineering works, remnants of which are found in Arabia and Baluchistan, built on the same models and with the same skill attributed to the Ghur Bastī—the ancient fire worshippers are evidences of the engineering skill of these ancient fire worshipping Dravidian Bhṛgus. Their skill in music, and the invention of the Bhārgava Vīṇā, their knowledge of astrology and astronomy is borne out by the abundance of this literature in South India unconnected with the North Āryan. Orphic lyre, Orphic songs, which gave inspiration to blind Homer gave similar inspiration to the blind Cyavana, the reputed author of Rāmācarita and the Ramopākhyāna of Uśanas.

There is a numerical sacred notation running through the cult and the history and literature of all these countries.

12 Etruscan Cities.
12 tribes of Israel.
12 Kings of Malabar.
12 Adityas.
12 Lucumo of Etruscan.
9 Gods of Etruscans.
9 Kadamba Kings.
9 Aṅgirasas.
9 Navaguas.
9 Kings of Padmāvatī whose capital is Karavīrapura a Nāga settlement.

(*i*) 24 letters of Gāyatrī on which Rāmāyaṇa is based with 24,000 Ślokas.

(*ii*) 24,000 Ślokas of Mahā-Bhārata at one stage.

(*iii*) 24 books of Iliad and Odissey

The claim of the mystic race of Bhṛgus upon the learned public is apparent and within the limited space allotted to me I have indicated the main lines. I have under preparation a more detailed account of the ancient Bhṛgus, which I hope to issue in a book form shortly.

REFERENCES TO ANCIENT STORIES IN THE RĀMĀYAṆA.

BY

N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI, LECTURER IN SANSKRIT, VENKATARAMANA ĀYURVEDIC COLLEGE, MADRAS.

Maharṣi Śrī Vālmīki, the renowned author of the Rāmāyaṇa, is the pioneer in the field of Sanskrit poetry. The style of the Rāmāyaṇa is so unique, lucid and attractive that to the later Ālaṅkārikas it has served to illustrate perhaps almost all the principles of Sanskrit Literary criticism. The chief characteristic of the style of the Rāmāyaṇa consists in the narration of events and description in simple yet forcible language, interwoven with numerous similes and occasional metaphors and other figures of speech.

It is held in certain quarters that most of the similes found therein have no bearing upon old traditional stories but are merely taken from nature and things connected. A careful perusal of the Rāmāyaṇa will, however, reveal the fact that in many places Vālmīki compares his characters to the heroes of old known to him. The story of king Yayāti among others seems to have attracted Vālmīki; for he has referred to most of the important incidents in Yayāti's life. The episode of Yayāti is narrated in the Mahābhārata I, 69—87. He was the second son of king Nahuṣa and had two wives, *viz.*, Devayānī and Śarmiṣṭhā. When he grew old, Yayāti got Puru's (his son) youth in exchange for his old age. After enjoying worldly pleasures for a long time, he came to realise their worthlessness; and renouncing them, he went to Svarga through severe penance. The jealous Indra once asked Yayāti, "Was there anybody equal to him in penance." Yayāti being a truth-speaker, his reply was "Nobody". Since no vain man is fit for Svarga, the king was thrown down on the earth by Indra. Yayāti, however, regained Svarga as the result of association with wise and good men.

Turning to the Rāmāyaṇa, we find the holy Vasiṣṭha confiding to Śrī Rāma in the Ayodhyākāṇḍa the message of Daśaratha in regard to fasting, as preliminary to his coronation. It is

said there : " King Daśaratha, your father, will, with pleasure, instal you on the throne tomorrow even as King Nahuṣa installed his son Yayāti[1].

Daśaratha when lying prostrate on earth, sorely afflicted with grief on hearing Kaikeyī's harsh words regarding the banishment of Rāma, is compared to Yayāti by Vālmīki when he was banished from heaven by Indra[2]. The same simile is repeated in connection with Vālin, when he fell down in the battle field struck by Rāma's arrows[3].

Rāma, while seeking Kausalyā's permission to leave for the Daṇḍakas, asserts that he will return to Ayodhyā from the forest having accomplished his father's promise, just as Yayâti, in olden days, came back to heaven from the world of mortals[4]. The same comparison is repeated once again by Rāma in a different form, when requesting Kausalyā to permit him to go to the Daṇḍaks and bestow on him her benedictions[5].

Sumantra on his return to Ayodhyā, leaving Rāma in the forest, is questioned in detail by Daśaratha about Rāma's doings and he (Daśaratha) says that he will retain his life taking solace in hearing about Rāma's activities, just as Yayāti did in the company of the holy wise men after his down-fall from heaven[6].

Bharata, bemoaning his father's loss, in company with his ministers is compared to Yayāti, in company with the holy sages of the forest after his down-fall from the heaven[7].

Sītā was carried away by Rāvaṇa from the Āśrama in the absence of Rāma. Rāma searched for her in the neighbouring

1. प्रातस्त्वामभिषेक्ता हि यौवराज्ये नराधिपः ।
पिता दशरथः प्रीत्या ययातिं नहुषो यथा ॥ II. 5, 10

2. ययातिमिव पुण्यान्ते देवलोकात्परिच्युतम् ॥ II. 13, 1.

3. ययातिमिव पुण्यान्ते देवलोकादिव च्युतम् ॥ IV. 17, 9.

4. तीर्णप्रतिज्ञश्च वनात्पुनरेष्याम्यहं पुरीम् ।
ययातिरिव राजर्षिः पुरा हित्वा पुनर्दिवम् ॥ II. 21, 47.

5. यथा समाप्ते पुनराव्रजेयं यथा हि सत्येन पुनर्ययातिः ॥ II. 21, 62.

6. आसितं शयितं भुक्तं सूत रामस्य कीर्तय ।
जीविष्याम्यहमेतेन ययातिरिव साधुषु ॥ II. 58, 12.

7. अभिपेतुस्ततः सर्वे तस्यामात्याः शुचिव्रतम् ।
अन्तकाले निपतितं ययातिमृषयो यथा ॥ II. 77, 10.

groves, mountains, rivers and other places, but could not trace her ; and filled with profound sorrow, he was lamenting over his calamities past and present. Lakṣmaṇa, consoling him, says that such happenings are but natural in this world and that none is free from calamities, though they are freed from it in a short while. Yayāti the son of Nahuṣa, though he owned the world of Indra, was not yet free from calamities[1].

Śibi is known to have sacrificed his own body in order to fufil his promise to a dove which in fear of a vulture took shelter under him (*vide* Mahā-Bhārata III 133 and 200). Similarly king Alarka sacrificed his two eyes for a learned brahmin who begged of him. Kaikeyī is represented by sage Vālmīki to have alluded to these events in order to impress upon Daśaratha the sanctity of fulfilling the vow[2].

Again Rāmā, in order to persuade his mother Kausalyā to allow him to go to the forest, is represented to have quoted Kaṇḍu and Paraśurāma as examples of virtue and implicit obedience to father's commands[3]. The former, learned and conscious of good and bad, killed a cow only to respect his father's command; while the latter for the very same reason beheaded his own mother. (*See* Mahābhārata III, 117.)

To justify the death of Vālin, who pleaded innocence, at the hands of Rāma, Vālmīki quotes a parallel in the anecdote of Māndhātā and the monk, wherein the former, for an offence which

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1. लोकस्वभाव एवैष ययातिर्नहुषात्मजः ।
गतः शक्रेण सालोक्यमनयस्तं समस्पृशत् ॥ III. 66, 7.

2. संश्रुत्य शैब्यः श्येनाय स्वां तनुं जगतीपतिः ।
प्रदाय पक्षिणे राजा जगाम गतिमुत्तमाम् ॥
तथा ह्यलर्कस्तेजस्वी ब्राह्मणे वेदपारगे ।
याचमाने स्वके नेत्रे उद्धृत्याविमना ददौ ॥ II. 14, 4 & 5.

3. ऋषिणा च पितुर्वाक्यं कुर्वता वनचारिणा ।
गौर्हता जानता धर्मं कण्डुना च विपश्चिता ॥ II. 21, 31.
जामदग्न्येन रामेण रेणुका जननी स्वयम् ।
कृत्ता परशुनारण्ये पितुर्वचनकारणात् ॥ II. 21, 33.

Vālin was guilty of, beheaded the latter on the plea that a king would be failing in his duty, if he did not punish wrong-doers[1].

The story of Māndhātā is told in the Mahābhārata (III. 127, VII 62 and XII 28, 81), though this part of the story is not to be found therein.

In the Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa the poet introduces as dṛṣṭānta the episode of Viśvāmitra. Tārā, the monkey-queen prays forgiveness of Lakṣmaṇa on behalf of Sugrīva, on the plea that Sugrīva, as Viśvāmitra in company with Ghṛtācī, is not aware of the fact that the time for action has come and is in deep slumber—a luxury which has been denied to him for sometime past[2].

The story of Purūravas and Urvaśī, which has a Vedic origin and is later on narrated in the Matsyapurāṇa, Viṣṇupurāṇa and other works, is alluded to by Vālmīki also. Rāvaṇa persuaded Sītā to yield to his wishes and meeting with repulse, speaks in the following vein, "O timid one! having forsaken me, you will repent for your action, just as Urvaśī, who kicked her lover, did"[3].

Śrī Rāma, while leaving for the Daṇḍakas, asks Sītā to remain at home on the plea that Daṇḍakā is inhabited by beasts of prey and life there will be very difficult. He also advises her to be of service to Kausalyā and his step-mothers and do at no time any harm to Bharata. Sītā, in trying to convince her lord of the necessity for taking her also with him to the Daṇḍakas, requests him to realise that she is an inseparable companion, ever in the service of her own lord, just as Sāvitrī was of her lord Satyavān, the son of Dyumatsena[4].

Again in reply to the persuasion of Rākṣasīs in the Aśoka garden, Sītā declares that she can love Rāma alone and none else, just as Lopāmudrā loved none but Agastya, Sukanyā none but Cyavana, Sāvitrī none but Satyavān, Śrimati none but

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1. आर्येण मम मान्धात्रा व्यसनं घोरमीप्सितम् ।
श्रमणेन कृते पापे यथा पापं कृतं त्वया ॥ IV. 18, 33.

2. प्राप्तकालं न जानीते विश्वामित्रो यथा मुनिः ॥ IV. 35, 6.
घृताच्यां किल संसक्तो दश वर्षाणि लक्ष्मण । IV. 35, 7I.

3. प्रत्याख्याय हि मां भीरु पश्चात्तापं गमिष्यसि ।
चरणेनाभिहत्येव पुरूरवसमुर्वशी ॥ III. 48, 18.

4. द्युमत्सेनसुतं वीरं सत्यवन्तमनुव्रताम् ।
सावित्रीमिव मां विद्धि त्वमात्मवशवर्तिनीम् ॥ II. 30, 6.

Kapila, Madayantī none but Saudāsa, Keśinī none but Sagara and Damayantī Naiṣadha[1]—heroines and heroes reputed for their chastity and mutual love.

In addition to the above references and those of secondary importance like Indra killing Vṛtra, Namuci and Bala, Vālmīki alludes to anecdotes connected with Viṣṇu, Śiva and Guha. While Rāma is bewailing the carrying away of Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa consoles him, saying that he (Rāma) is sure to have his beloved Sītā safely restored to him, just as Lord Viṣṇu got back the goddess Earth by subduing Bali. Then again in the Sundarakāṇḍa, while the ideal Bhakta, Hanumān, assumes his gigantic form, he is compared by Vālmīki to Viṣṇu taking up his Viśvarūpa in order to measure the three steps given to him by Bali Cakravartin[3]. In the Yuddhakāṇḍa also, the same comparison is repeated in connection with the description of Kumbhakarṇa[4].

Once again in the Sundarakāṇḍa, Hanumān reducing himself to his normal stature is likened to Viṣṇu throwing off his Viśvarūpa after accomplishing his purpose, *i.e.*, subduing Bali[5]. In the Yuddhakāṇḍa, Indrajit, while pacifying his father Rāvaṇa, boasts of his immeasurable and fierce valour being like that of Viṣṇu while on Bali's Yajñaśālā[6].

Among the stories connected with god Rudra, the burning of Manmatha and the slaying of Tripurāsura are well known. These

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1. लोपामुद्रा यथागस्त्यं सुकन्या च्यवनं यथा ।
सावित्री सत्यवन्तं च कपिलं श्रीमती यथा ॥
सौदासं मदयन्तीव केशिनी सगरं यथा ।
नैषधं दमयन्तीव भैमी पतिमनुव्रता ॥ V. 24, 11 & 12.
2. प्राप्स्यसे त्वं महाप्राज्ञ मैथिलीं जनकात्मजाम् ।
यथा विष्णुर्महाबाहुर्बलिं बद्ध्वा महीमिमाम् ॥ III. 61, 24.
3. त्रिविक्रमं कृतोत्साहं नारायणमिव प्रजाः ॥ IV. 67, 3.
विष्णोः प्रक्रममाणस्य तदा त्रीन् विक्रमानिव ॥ IV. 67, 25.
4. त्रिविक्रमकृतोत्साहो नारायण इवाबभौ ॥ VI. 65, 31.
5. तद्रूपमतिसंक्षिप्य हनूमान् प्रकृतौ स्थितः ।
त्रीन् क्रमानिव विक्रम्य बलिवीर्यहरो हरिः ॥ V. 1, 198.
6. द्रक्ष्यन्तु मे विक्रममप्रमेयं
विष्णोरिवोग्रं बलियज्ञवाटे ॥ VI. 73, 7.

are also alluded to in the Rāmāyaṇa. In the Āraṇyakāṇḍa, Sītā, in reply to Rāvaṇa's attempt to win her over, says that if only Rāma had seen him while she was removed by force, he (Rāmā) could have burnt him instantaneously, just as god Rudra did Manmatha[1]. Again in the Sundarakāṇḍa, the burning of the city of Laṅkā by the quick-footed Hanumān is compared by Vālmīki to the burning of Tripura by god Rudra[2].

Once again in the Yuddhakāṇḍa, Atikāya, one of the sons of Rāvaṇa, pierced by the arrows of Lakṣmaṇa, is said to resemble Tripura suffering the same fate at the hands of Rudra[3]. Rudra with his bow of Vedas is again mentioned to describe Rāma standing firm with his Kodaṇḍa in the midst of his army of Vānaras[4]. The death of Khara by the fire of Rāma's arrows is stated by Vālmīki to resemble the burning of Andhaka by Rudra[5].

Regarding Guha (God Skanda), it may be noted that Vālmīki mentions him in two places. In the Yuddhakāṇḍa, Narāntaka, one of Rāvaṇa's sons, marching against the army of Rāma on a horse, with Prāsa in his hand, is described by Vālmīki as resembling Lord Guha on his peacock with his Śakti in his hand[6].

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1. यदि पश्येत्स रामस्त्वां रोषदीप्तेन चक्षुषा ।
   रक्षस्त्वमद्य निर्दग्धो यथा रुद्रेण मन्मथः ॥ III, 56, 10.
2. हनूमता वेगवता वानरेण महात्मना ।
   लङ्कापुरं प्रदग्धं तद्रुद्रेण त्रिपुरं यथा ॥ V. 54, 30.
3. रुद्रबाणहतं घोरं यथा त्रिपुरगोपुरम् । VI. 71, 74.
4. भगवानिव संक्रुद्धो भवो वेदमयं धनुः ॥ VI. 75, 36.
5. स पपात खरो भूमौ दह्यमानः शराग्निना ।
   रुद्रेणेव विनिर्दग्धः श्वेतारण्ये यथान्धकः ॥ III. 30, 27.

According to Tilaka Ṭīkā on the Rāmāyaṇa, this simile relates to the incidents which have been mentioned either in the Māhātmyagrantha of Śvetāraṇya, a holy place on the bank of the Kāveri or in the Kūrmottara Khaṇḍa Adhyāya 36. From the former we learn that Rudra killed Antaka in order to grant Mārkaṇḍeya a long life; the latter, how ever, states that Rudra put to death Antaka (Andhaka ?) to save the royal sage, Śveta, who was performing a terrible penance in a mountain called Kalanjara.

6. गृहीत्वा प्रासमुल्काभं विरराज नरान्तकः ।
   शक्तिमादाय तेजस्वी गुहः शिखिगतो यथा ॥

Again in Kumbhakarṇa's battle with Hanumān, the former is represented to have dealt a blow to the latter on his chest by means of the Śūla, which Vālmīki compares to Kārtikeya's smiting Krauñca mountain with his Śakti[1].

A closer examination of the Rāmāyaṇa may reveal more references to other ancient heroes. But it will be clear from the above (1) that ancient heroes and heroines *are* alluded to in the Rāmāyaṇa by Vālmīki and (2) that it is impossible to draw on this score a clear line of demarcation between the styles of the Rāmāyaṇa and Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa, as suggested by Prof. K. A. Subrahmanya Iyer[2]. It will not be far from truth if we say that Vālmīki, while composing his poem, had access to the sources containing the needed information about the personages mentioned above.

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1. बाह्वन्तरे मारुतिमाजघान
   गुहोऽचलं क्रौञ्चमिवोग्रशक्त्या ॥

2. *See* his "Studies in the imagery of Rāmāyaṇa" J. O. R. M. Vol. IV, part 1, page, 34.

THE MADURAI CHRONICLES AND THE TAMIL ACADEMIES.

BY

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN, M. A., B. L.,

Advocate, Madras.

I

Round the city of Madurai,[1] the capital of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, have gathered a large number of legends which deserve study for the light they throw on the growth of tradition in the Tamil country.[2] The vast majority of these legends is religious in character, only a few being secular in type. Of the legends of the former class a very large number cluster round the temple of Śiva in that city and only a few relate to the temple of Viṣṇu which lies a little to the south of the temple of Śiva but within the limits of the city itself.

The temple to Viṣṇu at Madurai is dedicated to Him under the name of Sundara (or Saundara-rāja), and the legends which chronicle His activities are found embodied in a 'sthala-purāṇa' or 'local chronicle' known as the *Kūḍal Māhātmya,* which professes to be a portion of the 'Kṣētra-Māhātmya' section of the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa.* A Tamil version of it is the *Kūḍal Purāṇam,*[3] of the author or the date of which we happen to know little.[4]

1. The anglicised form is 'Madura'.

2: My erudite friend K. Ramaratnam-Aiyar, B. A., has done me the kindness of reading this paper in manuscript and has made numerous suggestions which I have thankfully adopted.

3. Ed. by T. K. Ramanuja-Aiyangar, 1929, and published as No. 52 of the publications of the *Śen-Tamil*, Madura.

4. The work mentions Rāmānuja (1017-1137 A.D.), the great *ācārya* of Vaiṣṇavism (*Kaḍavuḷ vaṇakkam*, 12) and cannot therefore be earlier than him. The only available manuscript having been copied 132 years back (*vide* Prefatory Note to the printed copy), we may presume that the work is at least a century and a half old.

The temple to Śiva is dedicated to Him under the name of the Lord Sundara and is considered one of the holiest of Śiva temples by the Tamil people. To the ardent devotee of Śiva the Lord appears to disport himself in mysterious ways: His activity, consisting as it does in the manifestation of His grace, is indeed but sport: such activities of His are therefore known to the devotee as the Lord's Sports. To the devotee who worships the Lord in His manifestation as Sundara at Madurai there are sixty-four Sports which stand out as of pre-eminent importance. Among these sixty-four are some which relate to the Acadmies in which, according to tradition, were gathered the poets of the earliest Tamil literature. The accounts of these Sports have therefore considerable interest to the student of south Indian history.

The sixty-four Sports of Śiva as Sundara have been duly chronicled in various *sthala-purāṇas* or 'local chronicles'. We are told of six different *sthala-purāṇas* in Sanskrit which narrate the Sports played by Śiva in Madurai. We know of a Sanskrit chronicle, the *Sāra-samuccaya,* which is said to be a section of the *Uttara Mahā Purāṇa,* but neither the major work nor the section of it dealing with Madurai is now traceable. Another of the Sanskrit chronicles, the *Hālāsya Māhātmya,* has been very popular for some centuries. Three other *purāṇas* are known in Sanskrit,—the *Kadamba-vana Purāṇa* (otherwise called the *Nīpāraṇya Purāṇa*), the *Sundara-Pāṇḍya* and the *Aṣṭamī-pradakṣiṇa Māhātmya,*—but these three have little interest either to the lover of literature or to the student of history. None of these five chronicles contains any clue to its authorship or date. The *Śiva-Līlārṇava* of Nīlakaṇṭha-Dīkṣita, a great scholar of the middle of the 17th century A. D., is a poem of rare excellence, but it is of little value for our purpose as it follows the *Hālāsya Māhātmya* very closely.[1] The *sthala-purāṇas* of Madurai which are found in Tamil are all probably translations,— rather adaptations,— from these Sanskrit chronicles. The *Kadamba-vana Purāṇa* has been rendered into Tamil verse under the title, the

1. My friend, Mr. Y. Mahalinga-Sastri, B.A., B. L., Advocate, who kindly examined the work tells me that the only deviations consist in the omission of the legend of the Unfailing Purse and in the splitting up of the legend of the Lord carrying earth into two legends,—that of the Lord carrying earth and that of His being beaten.

Kadamba-vana Purāṇam, by Vīmanāda-paṇḍidar, a poet whose date is uncertain, but who is perhaps not earlier than the sixteenth century A.D. The *Sundara-Pāṇḍya* was done into excellent Tamil verse by an able poet, Anadāri, in the year 1563 A. D.[1] The *Aṣṭamī-pradakṣiṇa Māhātmya* was put into good Tamil prose by Rāmasvāmi-Piḷḷai, a scholar who lived about fifty years ago. These three works are of no greater value than their Sanskrit originals. The *Sāra-samuccaya* has been translated into fine Tamil verse,[2] and called the *Tiṟu-Ālavāy-Uḍaiyār Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam*[3] (the 'Chronicle of the Sacred Sports of the Lord of Ālavāy'),[4] by a poet of no mean attainments, Perum-Paṟṟap-Puliyūr Nambi. The *Hālāsya Māhātmya* of Sanskrit has its counterpart in Tamil in the *Madurai Aṟupattu-nāṉgu Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam* (the 'Chronicle of the Sixty-four Sports at Madurai of the Lord'), by Param-jyōti;[5] opinion is divided on the question as to which of them is the original and which the translation.[6] The dates of these two works will be discussed later on at some length, but it may be assumed for the present that the work of Perum-Paṟṟap-Puliyūr Nambi was earlier than Param-jyōti's. For reasons which it is now difficult to appreciate in full, Perum-Paṟṟap-Puliyūr Nambi's work receded into the back-ground when Param-jyōti's appeared: perhaps, the severe restraint of the former was less suited to the popular taste than the limpid flow, the haunting melody, the florid exuberance and the emotional surge of the latter.

The popular notions now current in the Tamil land about the Academies supposed to have been founded at Madurai for fostering the growth of Tamil literature being based less on the

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1. *See also* Vidvan R. Raghava-Aiyangar in *ST* (1907 J-J.) iv. 371-5.

2. The book calls itself a translation (*see* stanza 23 of the Invocation).

3. MMU. V. Śāminādа-Aiyar has edited this work with his usual ability and thoroughness. (This is referred to hereafter as PPPN. *TVP.*)

4. This is one of the numerous names of Madurai.

5. This is referred to hereafter as PJ. *TVP.* I have used the edition of Āṟumuha-Nāvalar (Madras, 1907).

6. Much valuable information is found collected in MMU. V. Śāminādа-Aiyar's Introduction to PPPN. *TVP.*

Sanskrit chronicles above mentioned than on their Tamil translations or counterparts, we cannot do better than make the Tamil chronicles the basis of a study into the legendary lore relating to those Academies. Of these Tamil chronicles the earliest being Perum-Paṟṟap-Puliyūr Nambi's we may start with an examination of his work.

II

The *Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam* of Perum-Paṟṟap-Puliyūr Nambi starts with Invocations and Benedictions, an Apology by the author to his audience and a Decad of verses enumerating the miracles in the order in which they are narrated in the body of the work.[1] Then follows a History of the work, in which we are told how, when Parāśara,[2] Viśvāmitra, Nārada, Durvāsas and a number of other distinguished ṛṣis including Agastya had once gathered at Benares in the presence of the Lord Viśvanātha, Agastya was requested by his companions to narrate to them the Sports of Śiva on the banks of the Vegavatī (Vaihai). In one section, the 'Glory of the Land', Agastya eulogises the greatness of the country round about Madurai, and in the next section 'The Glory of the City', he speaks of the greatness of the city of Madurai, and he adds that he would tell them of the Sixty-four Sports played by Śiva at the rate of sixteen in a *yuga*, and, in a third section, 'The Fruits of Study', he assures his audience that a perusal of the accounts of the Sports will confer innumerable blessings.

Then follow sixty-four Cantos in which Agastya narrates the sixty-four Sports: henceforward, each canto narrates a legend.

The first two legends relate the raising of a temple by Indra over a *liṅga* which stood in a forest, Indra's calling the *liṅga* the Lord Sundara,[3] and Indra's elephant ridding itself of a curse by worshipping the *liṅga*[4].

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1. In summarising the legends I have endeavoured to adhere as closely as possible to the Tamil of the original,—even in disregard of English idiom.

2. In view of the extensive use of Sanskrit words and names in the works of both Perum-Paṟṟap-Puliyūr Nambi and Param-jyōti, I have preferred the Sanskrit forms to the corresponding Tamil ones, except where the latter are more familiar.

3. Legend 1 4. Legend 2

In the next two cantos we gather that to a Pāṇḍya king, Malayadhvaja, who performed great austerities to obtain a son, the Lord Sundara gave a daughter, Taṭātakā who had three breasts,[1] that she became queen on her father's death, that she marched up to Kailāsa, conquering numerous kings on the way, that at sight of Śiva, the Lord of Kailāsa, her third breast disappeared, and that the Lord Śiva took her to Madurai, married her and became king of the country under the name of Sundara-Māṟa, and that the couple reigned for long as king and queen of Madurai.[2]

Then follow seven cantos in which are narrated how, after the marriage, the God Sundara danced in the Silver Hall to please Patañjali,[3] how He made Kuṇḍōdara eat up the hillocks of food left over after the wedding-feast[4] and drink up the Vaihai which flowed at His behest to slake that goblin's thirst,[5] how the Lord called the seven seas to Madurai to give His mother-in-law the benefits of a holy sea-bath,[6] how He called His father-in-law from the shades so that father-in-law and mother-in-law might take the bath together hand in hand,[7] how He had a son Ugra-Pāṇḍya, whom in due course He crowned under the name Jaṭila-varma,[8] and how, prescient that Indra, the sea and Mount Mēru would prove rebellious, the Lord presented His son with three weapons,— a discus to aim at Indra, a javelin with which to quell the sea and a club with which to strike down Mount Mēru, and how the Lord then disappeared into the temple with Taṭātakā.[9]

Then come three legends,— how the Lord once brought four great clouds together to hang over Madurai and drink up the seas which had been sent against the city and how they became four canopied halls and protected the city from the downpour of torrential rains[10] and how as an Adept He once roamed about Madurai working strange miracles[11] and quickened a stone-elephant to life and made it munch sugar-canes.[12]

These are followed by a series of seven cantos in which are narrated certain Sports showing how great the Lord's interest was in Tamil literature.

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1. Legend 3
2. Legend 4
3. Legend 5
4. Legend 6
5. Legend 7
6. Legend 8
7. Legend 9
8. Legend 10
9. Legend 11
10. Legend 12
11. Legend 13
12. Legend 14

Once upon a time the poets, being desirous of obtaining a great board on which they could seat themselves in due order in the Hall of the Academy, went up to the temple, with Kabilar, Nak-Kīrar and Paraṇar at their head, and prayed the Lord Sundara to grant them a board on which they could all seat themselves without crowding. Sundara gave them a shining board, a cubit square, just wide enough to accommodate one person, and capable of sensing poetry. While the poets were remonstrating with Sundara for not having granted their request in the terms of their prayer, He having given them a board to seat only one whereas they had asked for a broad one whereon they could all find seats and could pursue their enquiries, a voice full of sympathy rose from the sky and told them that the board given by Sundara would know all true poets and would keep growing to accommodate them all. When it was taken to the Academy and laid right in the middle, Kīraṉ first took his seat thereon with eclat, and, finding that it grew in size, Kabilar followed and seated himself on it, and, it growing still, Paraṇar also took his seat. The other Academicians too, versed in the bunch of the three Tamils resplendent with the four-fold objects of human desire, took their places on the board and it kept on growing to accommodate every one of them. All the world praised the curious board for the sense it displayed in affording adequate accommodation and preventing squabbles. The learned poets deposited in the Academy, time and again, the works of classic Tamil which they strung together out of their convictions and in course of time the works became innumerable and the heaps grew till they touched the very sky. The Academicians then gathered together and in right friendly spirit disputed among themselves about the aptness of their respective works, and, finding that they could not easily vanquish one another, they agreed that they should examine their works and reject those that lacked lucidity and retain those alone that were good. On entering the Academy they found that all that literature had become mingled up and had got out of shape and could not be reduced to order and so they were struck with great grief. The lord in the plenitude of His grace appeared before them in the guise of a poet, asked them why they who were poets skilled in Letter,

Word, Theme,[1] Prosody and Rhetoric, having been happy so long should have then become downcast, and said, 'Tell us what has happened: if it is such that We can find a remedy for it We shall think out one'. To that the poets replied, 'Oh poet of unrivalled poesy! If Thou wouldst string together in due order these bunches of the three Tamils which to us look confounded, we shall add Thee to our number making it forty-nine instead of forty-eight as now'. Sundara gladly strung them all in order in a moment, and, the Academicians adding Him to their number, He took His seat on the board, and they all pursued their enquiries into Tamil. Finding that the poets were perplexed for want of an understanding of 'Poruḷ'(Theme), He gave them a treatise thereon, beginning, 'Of five-fold Love', and he classified the poems to accord with that treatise. While the poets were engaged in appreciation of their respective poems which accorded with the treatise on 'Poruḷ', the jealous Kīraṉ said, 'Hard should it be to find a parallel to the flawless Fifth Composition among my works'. The Lord thereupon sang a song packed close with 'Poruḷ' and asked the assembled poets to comment on it: while the other poets stood approvingly silent, Nak-Kīraṉ, in his ignorance, pronounced it unsound. The Lord Sundara said in reply, 'Who knoweth not that thou hast ever been a prey to jealousy? If any one else amongst ye saith it is unsound, then shall I be content'. The poets remaining silent, a voice from on high spoke: 'Oh, ye learned! the Lord came as one amongst ye to compose all contentions: worship Him'. They all marvelled: Kīraṉ worshipped Sundara and craved pardon. The Lord, who had for long sat in the Academy under the name of Pēr-Ālavāyar of Madurai, vanished, and the *Poruḷ Adihāram* shone resplendent as Iṟaiyaṉār's the Lord's *Poruḷ*.[2]

Once upon a time unknown, when a Pāṇḍya king was walking up and down with his queen in the moonlight on the terrace of his palace at Madurai, the breeze wafted to him the abiding fragrance of the tresses of his queen and he was bewitched by its indescribable sweetness. Asking himself if the frag-

1. I am painfully aware that the terms *Letter*, *Word* and *Theme* hardly represent the connotation of the terms used in Tamil grammars —*Eluttu*, *Śol* and *Poruḷ*. Even the ugly words *Orthography*, *Semasiology* and *Gnosiology* are not fair approximations.

2. Legend 15

rance was independent of the flowers that decked the tresses or no, he put together a thousand gold pieces into a purse and had it hoisted in front of the Academy and he had it notified that any one who came forward with a fine poem packed close with the apt answer to his question could take the purse. Poets kept coming to the king with poems, but the purse swung in its place. One day, a Brahman of the name of Darumi, pure, upright and devout, entering the temple and prostrating himself, told the Lord that so poor was he that he could not marry and his line was in danger of dying with him. The Lord Sundara composed a poem, gave it to Darumi and asked him to place it before the Academy and take the purse, and also advised him to seek His aid should any opposition arise. On Darumi taking the poem to the Academy and showing it to the Academicians, they appreciated it within themselves but would not show their appreciation openly. Darumi went back to the king and the Academicians followed him. The Pāṇḍya admitted that in the poem he found the apt answer to his question and he adjudged the prize to the poet who had composed the poem. Thereupon, Darumi went to the Academy to take down the purse, but the jealous Kīraṉ declared that the poem was not free from flaws, charged Darumi with incapacity to comprehend even the purport of words and asked him to fetch the poet who had composed the poem. Darumi appealing to Sundara, the Lord came in the guise of a poet, stood before the Academy, pervading the universe, and asked the Academicians who it was among them that had found fault with His poem. Kīraṉ replied that it was he. On the Lord asking that the flaw be pointed out, Kīraṉ said that if a head of hair was not properly dressed it would emit an evil odour. When Sundara asked him if he would apply the statement to the tresses of even goddesses, Kīraṉ replied that the sweetness of the tresses was due not to nature but to the attention bestowed on them. Sundara chiding him for his obstinacy and asking him if he held it true of even the tresses of His Consort, Gaurī, a prompt answer in the affirmative came from Kīraṉ. When Sundara revealed His identity by turning round and showing Kīraṉ the matted locks in which lay the Gaṅgā, Kīraṉ retorted, 'Frighten me not with Thy matted locks! The world doth know (the truth)'. Then Sundara opened His blazing third eye, but, nothing daunted, Kīraṉ said, 'Though flaming eyes be all around me, the flaw doth still remain a flaw'. Sundara

conjured him to give up his unseemly contrariousness and asked, 'Knowest thou not that Our Dame is called Cit-puṣpa-keśī by the Vedas ?'. Roasted by the flaming eye and suffering greatly, Kīraṉ called aloud for water, and unable to sustain the heat precipitated himself into a pool so that he might cool himself in its waters. The Lord Sundara vanished, and Darumi took down the purse and went his way praising the Lord.[1] At the intercession of the poets and on Kīraṉ composing an *andādi* poem in praise of Kailāsa and Kālahastī as he lay cooling himself in the pool, Sundara went with His Consort to Kīraṉ, helped him out of the pool and set him on the bank and disappeared. Kīraṉ went up to the Lord's temple and stood there for long in devout worship.[2]

Sundara being pleased with the unremitting devotion of Kīraṉ wished to improve Kīraṉ's knowledge of Tamil. His Consort reminded Him how once when they both were seated on Kailāsa, the celestials and the mortals, the ṛṣis, the yakṣas, the Adepts and the Nāgas had represented to Him that the north-east of the earth had got depressed and that the south-west, where stands Mount Podiyil, had got elevated, and how they had prayed that some one might be sent south so that he might restore equilibrium and how from the countless persons who stood around He had chosen Agastya and instructed him to go south and seat himself on Mount Podiyil (Malaya), how Agastya had then prayed that since he was being sent to the Tamil country he might be taught all about Tamil, how the Lord had then taught duly all the aphorisms dealing with Letter, Word and Theme, and how He had promised to teach him the purport of Tamil literature in the Kadamba forest wherein He lovingly dwelt. Thereupon Sundara thought that no one but Agastya could teach Kīraṉ the bunch of Tamil and that Kīraṉ should be filled with Tamil literature through Agastya: immediately Agastya appeared and, paying due obeisance to the Lord, entreated that he might be taught the rare aphorisms of Tamil. Sundara taught them to Agastya and asked him in turn to teach them all to Kīraṉ. Agastya having thus become better versed in Tamil than ever before taught it all duly to Kīraṉ, and went back to the Malaya Hill. When Sundara's Consort asked Him why He had not Himself taught Kīraṉ, Sundara replied that a preceptor should

1. Legend 16

2. Legend 17

instruct only those who paid amply, rendered services, were sympathetically inclined, were free from jealousy, had crushed untruth, were not disposed to cavil and had understood what was in the preceptor's heart, and that Kīraṉ having been guilty of irrepressible jealousy and of inordinate self-esteem, He could not in His own person play preceptor to Kīraṉ.[1]

The learned poets wrote commentaries on the aphorisms on Poruḷ which the Lord had formerly composed, but differences arose among them, for each had admiration for his commentary alone. Then, they agreed that they would place all the commentaries before the Lord and abide by His decision, and they told the Lord of their resolution. Thereto the Lord replied, 'Ye have spoken wisely. In this city doth live a devotee of ours, a merchant Uppūr-kiḻār. His son is but a boy, and is dumb to boot. Truth to tell, he is none other than Śaravaṇa-Guha. He is a peerless sage. He is called Rudra-Janman. Place your glosses before him and the one that he doth approve of is the true gloss: doubt it not'. The poets then asking Him, 'Being mute from birth, how shall he speak?', the Lord replied, 'At which gloss soever his hair doth bristle and his eyes grow wet, that is the true gloss : the rest are not. Despise him not, any of ye. Go ye in accord, place him on Our seat and beseech the boon'. So, the poets brought the dumb boy to the sacred Hall, seated him on the lion throne, burned incense and lights before him and set out the true glosses. On hearing those of Kīraṉ, Kabilaṉ and Paraṇaṉ, the boy was filled with joy and the hair on his body bristled and his eyes grew wet with tears. All present accepted those glosses as the ones which accorded with the divine author's mind, and for long days they praised the greatness of the Lord. The spell which had lain on the boy broke, and, after manifesting himself before the poets with six faces and twelve arms and riding a peacock, he vanished all of a sudden.[2]

Once upon a time a great poet of the name of Iḍaik-kāḍaṉ, a sweet companion of poets and chum of Kabilaṉ, sang a poem on a Pāṇḍya king and presented it to him, but the king pushed the poet aside and went his way. Greatly vexed, the poet wended his way to the shrine of the Lord Sundara and said, 'The Word is Thy Consort, and Thou art the Theme: so say the

1. Legend 18

2. Legend 19

Vedas. In insulting me a poet, the king hath insulted Thee and Thy Consort. Is it meet ?'. Having spoken thus, the poet left the sacred presence. The Lord was startled at these words and wished to pacify Iḍaik-kāḍaṉ and his friend Kabilaṉ. So, He left the shrine with His Consort, and, proceeding northward with the Academicians, stayed on the southern bank of the Vaihai. While thus He stayed beyond the pale of the temple,—the Academy in full strength being with Him and also adoring ascetics and devas—the devotees of the Lord entered the temple before dawn for worship as was their wont but they found Him not in the temple. Dazed at it, they ran up to the king and informed him of how the Lord had betaken himself with the poets to the banks of the river, having deserted His sacred fane. Taken aback by the news, the king, with his queen and ministers, went afoot to the Lord and prayed to be told how he had so offended the Lord that He had abandoned His shrine. The Lord asked, 'How happened it that, thoughtless and impelled by thine arrogance, thou pushed and drave out the companion of Kabilaṉ (who hath sung an *andādi* on Us), though his poem was without flaw, whether in word or in theme ? Though thou art learned, yet, like the low in mind, thou hast imputed flaws indiscriminately'. King and queen prostrating themslves and beseeching forgiveness, the Lord came back to the temple, accompanied by the Academicians and by Iḍaik-kāḍaṉ. The place where the Lord had tarried awhile to please Iḍaik-kāḍaṉ came to be known as North Ālavāy.[1]

The next legend narrates how the sea rose and advanced against Old Madurai, how Ugra-Pāṇḍya thereupon hurled his javelin at the sea, how it subsided instantly and kept submissively lapping the margins of his feet, and how he erected a lofty Hall for the Academy and remained in it for long amidst the laudations of the poets. The last stanza of this canto adds that the First and the Middle Academies were held in that Hall and that the Academy 'of the future' would be on banks of the Ganges.[2]

Then follow six cantos chronicling six miscellaneous miracles,—how once on a time the Lord cast curses about, His Consort to be born as daughter to a chieftain over fishermen, His son Skanda to be born as son to a merehant of Madurai and be

1, Legend 20 2, Legend 21

a congenital mute, and His Chief of Staff, Nandī, to be born as a shark, and how he plied fish-nets in the sea and took the fisherman's daughter to wife,[1] how He sold bangles and delighted the *vāṇiga* girls of Madurai,[2] how to a chieftain, Kāḍu-veṭṭi, He gave surreptitious access to His shrine, the Pāṇḍya king being that chieftain's enemy, and how He cut open a new gateway through the ramparts of the city and placed His Bull-seal on the gates,[3] how He appeared as a dealer in precious stones and presented a Pāṇḍya prince with the diadem needed for his coronation,[4] and how he mounted a turret on the ramparts and with an arrow called the Narasimha killed an ogre-elephant conjured up by the incantations of some Śramaṇas who had been incited by a Cōla king, how the carcase of the elephant was turned into the Elephant Hill and how as a memorial of the miracle of felling the ogre-elephant with the Narasimha-arrow the Lord installed Narasimha in the Elephant Hill.[5]

Now follow four cantos in which the story of the saint Māṇikya-vācaka is told at much length and with great pathos,—a Pāṇḍya king's prime minister turning devotee and being taught by the Lord[6], the transformation of jackals into horses by the Lord to oblige the devotee,[7] the re-transformation of the horses into jackals,[8] and the carrying of baskets of earth by the Lord on His head for the sake of an old dame and for procuring the liberation of the devotee from the prison into which the king had thrown him.[9]

Following these are six cantos recounting six miracles,—how the Lord became an old man, then a youth and lastly a babe in an endeavour to console a girl who, though born and bred a Śaivite, had been married to a Vaiṣṇava,[10] how to satisfy a Pāṇḍya who apprehended that the Lord's dancing continuously in one mode would tire Him out the Lord changed the mode and danced contrariwise,[11] how to save a Pāṇḍya from incurring the infamy of a judicial murder the Lord revealed the true circumstances of an accidental death,[12] how He showed the path of salvation to a wretch who had been guilty of both incest and

1. Legend 22
2. Legend 23
3. Legend 24
4. Legend 25
5. Legend 26
6. Legend 27
7. Legend 28
8. Legend 29
9. Legend 30
10. Legend 31
11. Legend 32
12. Legend 33

parricide,[1] how He cut down limb by limb a young 'blade' who had so far forgotten himself as to make love to the wife of his aged preceptor,[2] and how in the days of king Dattaṉ the Lord wrought a miracle from which the city got its name Madhura (Madurai) and how He turned a serpent, a magic cow and His Bull into three mounts named after them respectively[3].

The next two legends concern the miracles which the Lord worked through the saint Jñāna-sambandha,— the saint curing a Pāṇḍya king of a malignant fever and transforming him from a hunchback into a really beautiful person[4], and the saint getting the cantankerous Śramaṇas impaled after he had vanquished them in disputation[5].

Another series of miscellaneous miracles follows,—how the Lord appeared as a General at the head of a huge army to save from disagrace a chieftain who had spent on temples and devotees the large sums of money which had been entrusted to him by his king, Vīra-māṟaṉ, for raising an army to repulse an in vasion threatened by Śēdibaṉ, king of hunters,[6] how He gave an unfailing purse to another Pāṇḍya king with the injunction that he should protect tne Vedas,[7] how He settled a dispute about succession to some property,[8] how He taught the eight great *siddhis* to certain Yakṣiṇīs,[9] how as a water-carrier He served out water to the thirsty troops of a Pāṇḍya king (Vīra-Māṟaṉ) when they were engaged in battle with the forces of a Cōla king who had advanced against Madurai.[10]

The next canto tells us that once upon a time, rains failing in the kingdoms of the Cēra, the Cōla and the Pāṇḍya, the three kings went together to Indra, that Indra took umbrage at the Pāṇḍya's independence but did not reveal his displeasure and sent the three kings back to earth with great honours, and that Indra made the clouds rain copiously on the realms of the Cōla and the Cēra while he denied rain to the Pāṇḍya's country.[11]

1. Legend 34
2. Legend 35
3. Legend 36
4. Legend 37
5. Legend 38
6. Legend 39
7. Legend 40.
8. Legend 41
9. Legend 42
10. Legend 43.

11. At this point, are found a number of stanzas which, according to M. M. V. Śāminādа-Aiyar, the great editor of this work, are not to be found in some manuscripts. The purport of these stanzas is given below:

The Pāṇḍya worshipped Skanda at Tirup-Param-kuṉṟam and went ahunting on the Podiyil Mount. Finding the four great clouds wondering about, he captured and consigned them to prison at Kaṭṭu-Nallūr-irum-śiṟai. When the jealous Indra came to rescue them, the Pāṇḍya (Vīra-Māṟaṉ?) engaged him in battle, smote him with a discus and put him to rout at Taṉic-Śayam, and compelled him, in return for the liberation of the clouds, to send him prompt and regular rains.[1]

Two cantos follow narrating how, to fulfil the wish of a pious danseuse to have an idol of Śiva cast and consecrated, the Lord played alchemist,[2] and how to save a Pāṇḍya king from being driven from the throne by an invading Cōla, He fought on the battle-field, javelin in hand, and drove the Cōla to a watery grave.[3]

In the next canto we are told of the close of a Brahma-kalpa, the dawn of a new age, the birth of a new Pāṇḍya, his finding the temple unscathed by the incidents of the change from one kalpa to another, his raising a city round the temple, his appealing to the Lord to discover to him the ancient limits of the city, a serpent winding itself along the ancient bounds at the behest of the Lord and the city coming to be called Ālavāy in consequence.[4]

'The Pāṇḍya went to Tirup-Param-kuṉṟam, sacred to Muruhaṉ (Skanda). A leaf, wafted down from a tree on the bank of a pool on the hill, fell where along the margin of the pool the earth and the water met, and the leaf turned immediately into a living thing which was half bird and half fish. The bird-half sought to fly and the fish-half sought to swim. The poet Kīraṉ sought to end this strife between bird and fish, but he was caught hold of by an ogre and consigned to the depths of a dungeon cut into the rock. At the bidding of Muruhaṉ, Kīraṉ sang a glorious psalm,— an *Āṟṟup-paḍai*, 'Putting the Pilgrim in the Way' to his Lord,— and, Muruhaṉ, mightily pleased, aimed his javelin at the hill and liberated Kīraṉ and then vanished into the shrine,—but not before he had commented that Kīraṉ had called him an old man in the psalm. Kīraṉ thereupon sang a poem on Muruhaṉ's victory over the hill and his perpetual youth and unfading beauty. Muruhaṉ declared that whoso chanted Kīraṉ's psalms would receive the boon he prayed for, and Kīraṉ returned to Madurai and recited the psalms before the Academy amidst applause. Then, Kīraṉ enquired what the Pāṇḍya had done to obtain rain'.

1. Legend 44.
2. Legend 45.
3. Legend 46.
4. Legend 47.

The next legend is the story of king Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya,—how the king sought to atone for the sin of having unwittingly killed a Brāhmaṇa and to cast out the ghost which had possessed him in consequence, how the Lord encouraged the king with a promise, how he routed and pursued a Cōla who had dared march on Madurai, how the ghost abandoned the king on his entering the temple of Tiruv-Iḍai-Marudūr, how the king made his exit by the western gateway, how he stayed there for some time and had that gateway rebuilt, how he returned to Madurai and reigned in peace and how through the Lord's grace he obtained a vision of His world.[1]

Then follows a canto telling how when Varguṇa's son, to repulse the attack of a Cōla king, who along with allies such as the hunters, the Yavanas and the Karnāṭas had beseiged Madurai, threw himself at the feet of the Hero who had slain the magic-elephant, the Lord appeared before the walls of the city as an archer and put to rout the attacking forces with arrows on which He had impressed His sign, the Bull.[2]

In the next legend the Lord is said to have given a never-failing bag to a devotee who had spend his substance in feeding the Lord's devotees.[3]

Then comes a miracle relating that once on a time a Karnāṭa king drove the Pāṇḍya from his throne and subdued the Pāṇḍya country, became a convert to the religion of the Śramaṇas and oppressed those who followed the orthodox faith. A merchant, Mūrti, gave signal proof of his devotion to the Lord in defiance of the oppressor's ukases. At the decree of the Lord the usurper died suddenly, and Mūrti, being miraculously chosen king, re-established the orthodox faith.[4]

In the next canto we are told that once upon a time in a kalpa, two eminent poets, Kāri and Nāri, journeyed to Madurai from the north, took the wrong road and wandered about. Meeting a shepherd, they asked for the way to Madurai, but the shepherd insisted on being told first what the poets were going to Madurai for. On their protesting that it could be no concern of his, he retorted that he would not then tell them which way the city lay. The poets had then to say that they were going to the king with good poems in praise of him; the shepherd there-

1. Legend 48.
2. Legend 49.
3. Legend 50.
4. Legend 51.

upon taunted them with carrying poetry to a place crowded with the most eminent poets, and he insisted on a poem being recited before him. On the poets complying with the demand, the shepherd denounced them and, declaring that it was not their composition, recited the poem straight away. The poets thereupon promised him all the wealth that the king might shower on them if only he would tell them who it was that had taught him the poem, but he stipulated instead that a half of all their poems should be in eulogy of him. The moment the poets assented to the bargain the shepherd vanished. The poets, convinced that the shepherd was none other than the Lord Sundara, went up to His temple and made half their poems into hymns in praise of Him, and then went to the king with the other half.[1]

The next canto tells how once upon a time the Lord made a tiger give suck to a young deer in the Kadamba forest, how a merchant of Maṇavūr, who had gone westward in quest of wealth discovered, on the way back, a city with a great temple in it and told the king of the discovery, how at the king's request the Lord took the guise of an Adept and pointed out to him the boundary of the city by walking along it and how the king made the city his home.[2]

In the next four cantos we have the legend of the Lord playing four Sports on behalf of a bard Bhadra and his wife,— how, in response to Bhadra's appeal to help him vanquish a rival bard, the Lord appeared as a wood-cutter and sang a song of ineffable sweetness and how the rival took to his heels when he heard that Bhadra had refused to accept that master-songster for a pupil as he was not proficient enough to be accorded the high privilege of being Bhadra's disciple,[3] how the Lord sent Bhadra with a commendatory note to the Cēra king of that time who received him with high honours and piled on him the most costly gifts,[4] how the Lord gave Bhadra a board on which to stand when singing psalms in His praise[5] and how the Lord made the Pāṇḍya king award the palm to Bhadra's wife in a musical contest, though the king had arranged for the contest for the express purpose of spiting himself against Bhadra and his wife.[6]

1. Legend 52.
2. Legend 53.
3. Legend 54.
4. Legend 55.
5. Legend 56.
6. Legend 57.

In the seven succeeding cantos we have a varied collection of legends,— how through a curse the dozen sons of a Veḷḷāḷa were born as pups to a boar and sow, how the couple lost their lives at the hands of a Pāṇḍya king and how the Lord played mother to the orphan pups,[1] how through the Lord's grace they were born again as human beings and were brought up on the Boar Hill and in due course were made ministers to the Pāṇḍya king,[2] how the Lord taught to a black-bird the *mṛtyuñjaya mantra*, powerful even against death,[3] how there was a drought in the days of a Pāṇḍya king of the lineage of Ugra, how the king grew eager for great wealth to support sacrifices and maintain worship so that there might thereafter be no failure of rains, how at a suggestion from the Lord the king advanced against Mount Mēru, how when it refused to yield up the treasures hidden in its entrails the king struck it down with his club and incised on it his insignia, the fish and the club, and how thereupon the Mount disgorged the treasures,[4] how a young man who was taking his orphan cousin to Madurai with a view to marrying her there in pursuance of her father's wishes, was bitten to death by a cobra at Tirup-Puṟambiyam, how the saint Jñānasambandha resurrected him and had him married to the cousin with no witnesses but a well, a *vaṉṉi* tree and the idol of the temple of Tirup-Purambiyam, and how when doubts came to be cast, years later, on the fact of the marriage, the Lord made the well, the tree and the idol appear at Madurai and bear testimony to the marriage,[5] how through piety a crane forswore fish and starved and how the Lord vouchsafed salvation to it and to all its kind,[6] and how at the beginning of the first of the four yugas of the fifth mahā-yuga of this Brahma-kalpa the Lord assumed the guise of a preceptor at the request of the Ṛṣis and taught them the four Vedas and the six Aṅgas in Madurai.[7]

The sixty-four Sports having been thus narrated at length, the work closes with some verses in which the 'Fruits of Study' of the work are enumerated.

(*To be continued.*)

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1. Legend 58.
2. Legend 59.
3. Legend 60.
4. Legend 61.
5. Legend 62.
6. Legend 63.
7. Legend 64.

LITERARY NOTES.

BY

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA IYER, B.A., B.L.,

Advocate, Madras.

शशिनमुपगतेयं कौमुदी मेघमुक्तं
जलनिधिमनुरूपं जह्नुकन्यावतीर्णा ।
इति समगुणयोगप्रीतयस्तत्रपौराः
श्रवणकटु नृपाणामेकवाक्यं विवव्रुः ॥ Raghu. VI. 85.

The above is an apt illustration of Kālidāsa's characteristic poetic genius in weaving into the fine texture of exquisite verse the subtle references to Śāstraic thought and scientific truth which often elude the superficial reader. It occurs in the context, wherein the assembled citizens of the capital city of the Vidarbha king are said to have given expression to their rejoicings at the happy union in wedlock of princess Indumatī with prince Aja, in the great Svayaṁvara that was held at the court of that king. Mightily pleased with the absolute worthiness of the ultimate choice of a husband by the princess, the citizens voiced forth their heart-felt felicitations thus: "The moonlight has united with the moon freed from the cloud; the daughter of Jahnu (Gaṅgā) has flowed down into the ocean of like nature." The general import of the stanza is fairly clear, namely, that the princess and her husband are quite worthy of each other in every respect by the equal excellence of their qualities of head and heart, and, hence, their marriage evokes the hearty appreciation of the citizens. The exact significance of the expression "*Ekavākyam*" (एकवाक्य) however, it is a little difficult to understand. In his cryptic commentary, Mallinātha renders it as *Avisaṁvādivākyam* (अविसंवादिवाक्य), *i.e.*, non-divergent sentence, and the translator in the Poona edition of the Raghuvaṁśa translates it as "unanimous opinion". One can well see that this elucidation of the meaning of the expression fails to bring out the full effect suggested therein, and the significance of the verb

"Vivavruḥ" is also missed. Moreover, the first half of the stanza consists of two sentences, and it seems to be an apparent contradiction of language to say that the citizens gave expression to one sentence. Hence, it stands in need of probing further to find out the hidden meaning and suggestion.

The phrase *"Ekavākya"* (एकवाक्य) or, more accurately, *Ekavākyatva* (एकवाक्यत्व) is a well-known term of art in the science of Mīmāṁsā, which connotes the rule that, where there are two sentences which are inter-dependent on account of the inter-relation of the underlying idea conveyed by them, they together form one sentence conveying one complete idea. This is known to the writers of the Mīmāṁsā Śāstra as the 'Nyāya' of *Ekavākyatva* (एकवाक्यत्व). Thus Kumārila Bhaṭṭa defines it in the following stanza:

स्वार्थबोधे समाप्तानामङ्गाङ्गित्वव्यपेक्षया ।
वाक्यानामेकवाक्यत्वं पुनः संहत्य जायते ॥

"Two sentences, each conveying its complete sense, join together to form one sentence by reason that they are inter-dependent as component parts."

If we apply the principle of this rule to the two sentences in the first half of the stanza, it will be seen that, though they appear as two separate sentences conveying two ideas, still, in the context, their ultimate import is only one complete idea, namely, that the bride has chosen a husband worthy of her and that he has obtained a bride worthy of him in every respect. This idea is conveyed by the citizens in the form of two figures of speech which are indicated in the two separate sentences. But the real idea portrayed by these two similes is only one. Hence, by applying this principle of *Ekavākyatva* the poet is justified in saying that the citizens, though they apparently gave expression to their rejoicings in two separate sentences, still, really uttered only one sentence. If we examine a little more carefully the two sentences, we can realise also how their inter-dependence, *Parasparākāṅkṣā* (परस्पराकाङ्क्षा) has been indicated by well-chosen words therein. The first beginning with *"Śaśinam'* (शशिनं) connotes the idea that prince Aja was all along waiting for, and, at last, obtained, a bride worthy of him. This idea naturally provokes the thought in the mind of reader whether the converse is also true,. and the second beginning wiht

"*Jalanidhim*" (जलनिधिं) hits that off and conveys that the princess, in her turn, was waiting for a worthy husband and had the good fortune of getting one in the prince. The adjective "*Megha-muktam*" (मेघमुक्तं) is used in the first sentence to qualify the word "*Śaśinam*" (शशिनं) signifying the prince. Hidden by the cloud, the moon was waiting for the approach of the moonlight and now freed from it, the moon stands united with the moonlight. In the other sentence, the word "*Jahnukanyā*" (जह्नुकन्या) is used in relation to Gaṅgā signifying the princess, with the deliberate purpose of conveying the idea to the reader that, in her long course through the plains to reach ultimately her lord, the ocean, the mighty river was for a time intercepted by the Ṛṣi Jahnu, and, then, freed from him, flows into the ocean. It may be that the words, "*Kaumudī*" (कौमुदी) and "*Jahnukanyā*" (जह्नुकन्या) both denoting the princess in the context, are used as *kartas* in the two sentences. Still, by the qualifying epithet, "*Megha-mukta*" (मेघमुक्त) in relation to *Śaśī* (शशी) in the first sentence, the *Ākāṅkṣā* (आकांक्षा) is established, as the ultimate import (तात्पर्य) of the first sentence, namely, that it is the moon which stands to gain by the union, suggests the necessity for the second sentence which clearly conveys that the river, signifying the princess also stands equally to gain by the union. Therefore, the first sentence and the simile contained therein naturally run into the second sentence and simile contained therein, and the two together form, as it were, the component parts of one sentence and one idea, namely, that the bride and bridegroom are worthy of each other to be united in wedlock. That this is the central idea desired to be conveyed by the poet is fairly certain from the following verse referring to the same prince and the princess.

परस्परेण स्पृहणीयशोभं
न चेदिदं द्वन्द्वमयोजयिष्यत् ।
अस्मिन् द्वये रूपविधानयत्नः
पत्युः प्रजानां वितथोऽभविष्यत् ॥ (Ragh. VII. 14.)

The reader will now readily appreciate how the bald and prosaic Mīmāṁsā rule of interpretation has been made to subserve the ends of poetic art, so as to evolve a fine poetic conceit.

MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF BHAKTI-RĀJA

BY

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, M.A.,

Archaeological Assistant, Government Museum, Madras.

This copper plate grant appears to have been found somewhere in the vicinity of Nuzvid and was in the possession of the Zamindar of Nuzvid till 1873, when, according to the "Catalogue of the copper plate grants in the Government Museum, Madras" (1918), it was presented to the Madras Museum by the Zamindar. As early as 1871 it came to the notice of that veteran archæologist, Sewell, whose remarks on this grant are found on pp. 26-27 of his "Lists of Inscriptions and Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India" (1884). But curiously enough this important grant has not yet been published.

The grant consists of three plates strung together by a ring going through holes on the left-hand sides of these plates. The ends of the ring (now cut) are soldered to the bottom of an oval seal, 2″ × 1″, with the figure of a man engraved on it. What this figure represents is not clear. It is in the act of walking or dancing with the hands lifted up to the level of the neck. Similar figures can be seen on the copper issues of the Cōḷa king Rāja-rāja I (985—1012 A. D.). Except the first plate, which has writing on its inner side, the other two have writings on both the sides. They measure $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4''$. The rims of these plates are slightly raised, and the plates themselves are consequently well preserved.

The writing is legible. The lines do not run straight but often overlap, so much so that they have to be carefully followed. The writing too has not been cut sufficiently deep and in some places the letters are faint. The language used is throughout Sanskrit except for a few lines (40-44) written in old Telugu language which speak of the boundaries of the village granted. The script employed is old Telugu, most of the letters having almost assumed their present shape. The whole grant, which is done in 51 lines, can be said to consist of 24 verses in Sanskrit and four lines (40-44) of prose in Telugu.

The *anusvāra* is always used for the corresponding nasal, *e.g. prasaṁnna, Gaṁgā, Caṁdra.* The vowel "*ē*" has no top stroke as at present. *Da* and *ḍa* are done almost in the same way but the latter has, as in the Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva, the son of Bhakti-Rāja, a greater curve. *Ba* is distinguished from *bha* by a top stroke in the latter. Almost all the letters have the top stroke or the *talakaṭṭu.*

Repha is indicated by a stroke usually called "*velapali gilaka.*" The letter following *anusvāra* is doubled in certain places. The *anusvāra* is sometimes found in places where it is not necessary *e. g. Vaṁrṇanīyam* (in line 15) and is sometimes omitted where its presence is necessary *e.g. nṛpāṇā(ṁ)* (in line 50). Sometimes consonants get doubled *e. g. sūryya* (in line 8), *bhargga* (in line 10); *bāndha-vīyyam* (in line 20). *Ḷa, ṣa* and *ka* retain the *Cālukyan* form (line 4.). Sometimes *bha* is used for *pha* (lines 20 and 24) and *ba* (line 19); and *ṭa* for *ḍa* (line 24).

The contents of this grant may be summarised as follows, fuller details being given under translation of the text (p .140-3):—

In the line of the sun there appeared several kings like Manu, Bhagīratha, Ikṣvāku, Kakutstha, Raghu, Rāma, Arikāla and Karikāla and Nalla-Bhīma. After Nalla-Bhīma came Dāmabhūpa alias Dōhatta-Nārāyaṇa who was succeeded by his son Sōma-nṛpāla. Sōma-nṛpāla's son was Gaṅgādhara who married Irugāmbā, the daughter of Kāmabhūpa and sister of Vēṅga-bhūpati of the lunar race. To Gaṅgādhara was born Bhaktirāja, called a Cōḍa, who also bore the name Kāma-rāja after his maternal grandfather. This Bhaktirāja was a great devotee of Śiva. He was like the Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa to his inimical lions and bore the title Rāyavēśyābhujaṅga which indicated his sovereignty. While he was engaged in conquering neighbouring kingdoms, in the course of one of his marches, he came upon Viśvanātha, a celebate-sage of the Kauśika-gōtra and a great Śaiva teacher, at Śrī Parvata (Śrī Śailam,) whose disciple he forthwith became. And he granted to him a village called Kaṇḍvakolnu in Śaka 1277, on Monday, in the month of Kārttika (Monday, 21st October, 1355 A.D.).

This inscription is of much historical interest, as it discloses the genealogy of an almost unknown line of local chiefs, who call themselves Cōḍas of the solar race and who appear to have flourished in the country now bounded by the Gōdāvarī and

Vizagapatam districts during the fourteenth and the early part of the fifteenth centuries. Thus they appear to have flourished immediately after the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu. The information regarding these Cōḍas has been culled from the following inscriptions:—

No. 145 (S. I. I., Vol. 5, p. 55)
No. 1347 („ „ 4, p. 474)
No. 1348 („ „ „ „)
No. 254 (M. E. R., 1905)
No. 293 („ 1920)
No. 16-A („ 1917-18)
No. 865 (S. I. I., Vol. VI, p. 334),

and from the Rajahmundry Museum plates ot Annadēva Cōḍa published in J. A. H. R. S., Vol. I., No. 4, pp. 172-189.

From these inscriptions we learn that these Cōḍas were quite distinct from the several other Cōḍa families that ruled in several parts of the Āndhra country like the Telugu Cōḍas of Nellore, the Velanāṭi Cōḍas and the Rēnāḍu Cōḍas. In the earlier part of the fourteenth century the Telingaṇa appears to have been the scene of severe internecine struggle for individual supremacy. Close on the heels of the downfall of the Kākatīyas, the central power had waned considerably and from inscriptions[1] we learn that many principalities arose like those of the Nāyaks of Piṭhāpuram etc., who held great military posts under the Kākatīyas. In about this time several powers like the Gajapatis (*i.e.*, Gāṅgas of Kaḷiṅga), the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu, the Velamas of Dēvarakoṇḍa and Rācakoṇḍa, the Karṇāṭas of Vijayanagara and the Muhammadan powers like the Bahamanis tore the country into shreds by frequent fights amongst themselves for individual supremacy. In this juncture the Cōḍas of our grant come to light and power.

From the Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva we learn that they took part in these fights, joining one side or the other as the case may be, to effect a "balance of power." The plates say that Annadēva helped the Turuṣka (Firoz Shah Bahamani ?) against the Kannaḍa kings and inflicted a severe defeat on the latter. Though all the inscriptions of these Cōḍas speak of them in eulogistic terms they do not appear to have had

1. A. S. P. P., Vol. I, part 2 :—Anitalli's Kaluvacēru inscription.

larger territory or sovereign power at any time. So their position should have been of Maṇḍalēśvaras or chieftains.

As regards their religion almost all the inscriptions are agreed in calling them devotees of Śiva, and they made pious gifts to the temples of Śiva at Dākṣārāma, Mahānandīśvara, Tripurāntaka, Śrīśaila, Paṭṭisa and Benares etc., and to brāhmans of deep learning like Viśvanātha, the donee in the grant under description.

The genealogy of this family, as gathered from our grant, is as follows :—

After a mythological pedigree consisting of names like Manu, Bhagīratha, Ikṣvāku, Kakutstha, Raghu, Rāma, the names of Arikāla and Karikāla, are given. After Karikāla there were several kings, the foremost among them being Nalla-Bhīma. Then came Dāmabhūpa alias Dōhatta Nārāyaṇa, then his son Sōmanṛpāla and after him Gaṅgādhara, the latter's son. After Gaṅgādhara came Bhaktirāja, the donor of our grant. He had various birudas of which the most important are Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa, and Rāyavēśyābhujaṅga. He was also known by the name of Kāmarāja or Kāmabhūpa, the name by which he is referred to in the Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva. When we compare this genealogy with the one given in the Rajahmundry grant, we get the following connected table:

(1) MADRAS MUSEUM GRANT.	(2) RAJAHMUNDRY MUSEUM GRANT.
	………………m. Annamāmbā
Nalla-Bhīma	Ēṟuva-Bhīma m. Prōlāmbikā
Dāma-bhūpa m. Lakṣmī	Dāma-nṛpāla m. Lakṣmī
Sōma-nṛpāla m. Sūrāmbikā	Sōma-bhūpa m. Sūrāmbikā
Gaṅgādhara m. Irugāmbā (of the lunar race, daughter of Kāmabhūpa and sister of Vēṅga-bhūpati.)	Gaṅgādhara m. Irugāmbā
Bhaktirāja	Kāmarāja *alias* Bhaktirāja m. Annamāmbā
	Annadēva m. Irugāmbikā
	Vīrabhadra

Nalla-Bhīma of (1) would correspond to Ēṟuva-Bhīma of (2) and is, therefore, identical with the great warrior-chief Ēṟuva, about whom there are some cāṭu verses in Telugu, praising his valour[1]. Mr. V. Appa Rao thinks that Mailama-Bhīma was perhaps another name[2] of his. But this cannot be, for we learn from grant (2) (lines 15-16) that his mother was known as Annamāmbā and not as Mailama. We can easily concede that he had the name Nalla-Bhīma which probably reflected on his complexion or good rule. His wife was Prōlāmbikā. His son was Dāmabhūpa or Dāma-nṛpāla who married Lakṣmī. Both the grants agree with regard to Dāmabhūpa, Sōmabhūpa and Gaṅgādhara and their wives. Gaṅgādhara's wife was Irugāmbā, the daughter of Kāma-bhūpa and the sister of king Vēṅga-bhūpati. No. (2) gives Gaṅgādhara the title Arigaṇḍaragaṇḍa, and calls Bhaktirāja as Kāmarāja after his maternal grand-father. The name Bhaktirāja is explained by No. (2), as having been given to Kāmarāja, the name by which he was known from childhood, for his extreme devotion to Śiva (Candracūḍa). His wife, according to no. (2), was Annamāmbā and their son was Annadēva who married Irugāmbikā. And Annadēva's son was Vīrabhadra with whom our knowledge of this family comes to a close for the present.

Our grant is silent about the military exploits and other activities of Bhaktirāja, as it concentrates only on the religious persuasions of the king. Fortunately the Rajahmundry plates give us ample information about his military and civil activities[3]. He built a town and named it Kāmapurī after his own name. It also bore the name of Kalyāṇa and was as it were the crest-jewel of the Āndhradēśa. Even as a youth he conquered the valorous Yavana chiefs like Boggara and others[4] in the vicinity of the

1. V. Prabhākara Sastri, *Cāṭupadyamaṇimañjarī*, p. 76 (Ed. 1913).

2. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 174-5.

3. It is to be regretted that facsimiles of these plates have not yet appeared. For much of my information regarding these Cōḍas I rely on the readings given in J.A.H. R. S., Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 182-187.

4. M. E. R., 1912, part II, p. 86.—In this report the word *bōggarādi* occuring in line 23 of Annadēva's plates (J. A. H. R. S., Vol. I, No. 4) has been interpreted as the name of a place called *boggarāḍi*, changing the *di* into *ḍi*. But what we find in the inscription is *bōggarādi-yavana* meaning Bōggara and other Yavanas. The passage itself runs thus:—" *Prāṁtē yuvaiva Gulapūṁḍi-purasya Śūrān yō Bōggarādi yavanādhipatīn ajaiṣīt*" (lines 22-23).

town of Gulapūṇḍi (?Gunupūṇḍi). On the east he defeated the Gajapati king at the battle of Pañcadhāra (?Pañcadhārla) and installed on the throne the lord of Koppula. Near the town of Bharaṇipāḍu he conquered a king called Śiṅga and in a pitched battle near the town of Pedakoṇḍa vanquished the demon-forces (probably Muhammadan forces) under Dabaru Khan and others. At the town of Sūravara he easily defeated the great hero Annavōta whose identity becomes clear from the Vanapalli plates of Anna Vēma dated Śaka 1300, published in Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, pp. 59-60. He was the grandson of Prōla, and son of Vēma who built a hall and steps at Śrī Śailam, and a brother of Anna Vēma, the donor of the Vanapalli plates. He was therefore of the Koṇḍavīḍu Reḍḍi family.

Besides the gift mentioned in this grant, Bhaktirāja is said to have given away two other villages, Ātukūru and Āmudālapalli at the instance of Pōlidēvayya[1]. The capital before his time appears to be Mummaḍi Prōlavaram, (probably Murumaṇḍa Pōlavaram in the Godavari district) and Bhaktirāja should have, therefore, built a new capital and called it Kāmapurī. But when we come to the time of his son Annadēva we learn that his capital was Mummaḍi Prōlavaram and not Kāmapurī[2].

About the activities of Annadēva, both military and religious, we have luckily ample records. Thus from the Rajahmundry Museum plates we learn all about his military exploits. He commanded a large force, and, ably assisted by his son Vīra-

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1. Śrīnātha, *Śivarātrimāhātmyam*, canto I, verse 16 :—

సీ॥ చేవ్రూరిభీమేశు జెలువార గుండెలఁబూజగావించినపుణ్యమూర్తి ।
కడిమిమైనిరువత్తుగండని చేమల్లికార్జునకుత్పలం బర్థిఁబడసెఁ ।
గొలనిరామారెడ్డినలన లింగాల........రిమెత్తొఁడ
భక్తిరాజాఖ్యుచేఁబర్వతేశ్వరునకు నర్పించెఁజెరువాడు నాతుకూరు
ధరణిఁద్రిపురాంతకున కాముదాలపల్లె, రాయవేశ్యా
భుజంగువల్లావయిచ్చె
నిట్టి పౌరుష........, పోలిదేవయ్య చెన్నారుఁబుణ్యమూర్తి॥

2. M. E. R., 1912, p. 86.

bhadra, he is said to have consolidated his power, for which reason he is hailed as the greatest hero of the line. He allied himself with the Turuṣka king (probably a Bahamani king) and devastated the forces of the Karṇāṭas and captured several towns like Jaggavāgu. Then he defeated the kings of the south near Attili and protected 10,000 of his foes who sought refuge with him. Assisted by his brother-in-law, Pinayuṇḍi (Pinnuṇḍi) he killed the Kannaḍa and other kings at Kāṅkaraparṯti (Kākaraparti) on the banks of the river Gautamī (Gōdāvarī) in order to save his ally whose name is not however mentioned. Being desirous of fame he protected the kings ot the Kāṭaya-Vēma family, who prostrated themselves at his feet, after being defeated by him in battle. Mr. V. Appa Rao, we think, has answered on pp. 177-180 of J. A. H. R. S., 1927, Vol. I, No. 4, the questions "who are the persons meant by the phrase "Kāṭaya Vēma-vaṁśa" and "how did they come to be defeated and subsequently protected by Annadēva".

Annadēva's wife was Irugāmbikā of the solar race, the daughter of Śrī Cakravarti and sister of Pinnuṇḍi, probably a brother of Uṇḍirāja. These Uṇḍirājas also claim the solar race as theirs and are said to belong to the Harita-gōtra. They appear to have been allies to our Cōḍa chiefs in their hours of need. The Rāvulaparṯi copper plate grant of Uṇḍirāja records the grant of Rāvulaparṯi surnamed Uṇḍīśapura to brahmans. The king's capital is said to be Sūravaram (one of the two villages of this name in Bhadrachalam Taluk, Godavari Dt.) near which we learnt that Bhaktirāja defeated Annavōta. It is dated Śaka 1304 and would fall in the reign of Bhaktirāja, as the earliest date known for Annadēva is Śaka 1310[1]. This grant gives their genealogy as follows :—

Dēvarāja of the Sūryavaṁśa and the Harita-gōtra
|
Uṇḍīśa m. (Bi) mmidēvī
|
Tammarāja m. Vīramadēvī
|
Uṇḍirāja m. Rudramadēvī of the Mānavyasa-gōtra and probably of Cālukyan blood.

1. M. E. R., 1905, No. 254.

From an inscription in Simhācalam, Vizagapatam district, published in South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. VI, No. 865, dated Śaka 1325, we hear of a Kūnabhūpāla or Kūnaparāja of the Harita-gotra and son of king Cakravarti (line 5). If we remember that Irugāmbikā, the wife of Annadēva was the daughter of Cakravarti and the sister of Pinnuṇḍi (Rajahmundry Museum plates of Annadēva, lines. 42-43—*Śrī Cakravartitanayām Irugāmbikām—Pimnumḍibhūpa-sahajām* . .) of the Harita-gōtra it goes without saying that Kūnabhūpa was Irugāmbikā's brother, either identical with Pinnuṇḍi (Pinnuṇḍi meaning only the "junior Uṇḍi"), or a brother of the latter.

Though we have ample materials concerning these Uṇḍirājas we are unable to determine the exact political relationship of Uṇḍirāja to the contemporary Reḍḍi chiefs Anna Vōta or Anna Vēma of Koṇḍavīḍu, who were powerful in this part of the country about the time of this inscription.

Annadēva was also a great devotee of Śiva and is said to have made many gifts to brahmans and temples[1]. He covered with gold the temple of Vīrabhadra at Gōmukhagiri and guilding the pinnacle of the temple of Bhīmeśvara at Dākṣārāma he converted it into a jewel in the crown of the Āndhra country. He made a gift of cows to brahmans of Paṭṭisa on the bank of the Gōdāvarī and gave away a village called Uttamagaṇḍa-Cōḍānnadēvavaram at a spot called Pinnasāni-saṅga. And lastly he appears to have given several villages to God Viśvēśvara of Benares, his family deity.

Nothing more is known about Annadēva's son, Vīrabhadra than that he was associated with his father in the latter's military activities. The earliest date that we get for Annadēva is Śaka 1310[2] and the latest date happens to be Śaka 1335[3] or 1336[4]. Subsequent to Śaka 1336 we do not hear either of Annadēva or his son Vīrabhadra.

While thus it is easy to assign these Cōḍas to the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, it is still more easy to follow their military activities, as meaning nothing more than

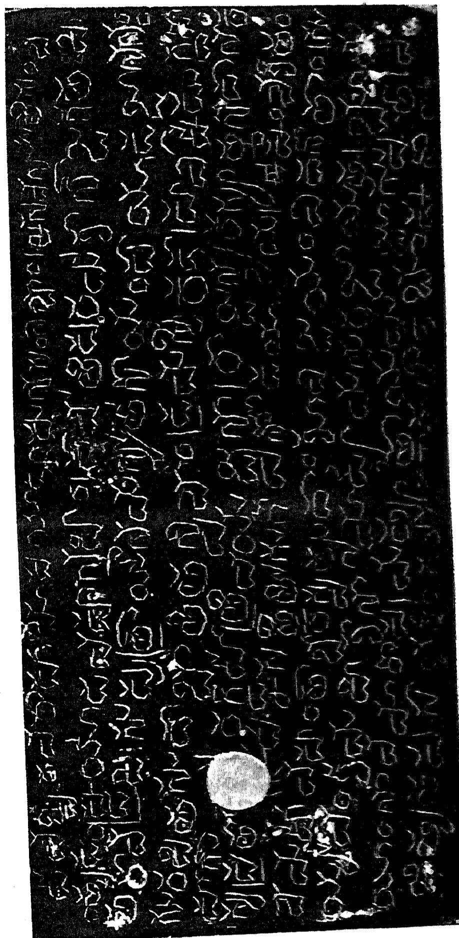
1. S. I. I. Vol. V, No. 145; Vol. IV, Nos. 1347-48; M. E. R., 1905, No. 254; 1920, No. 293.
2. M. E. R., 1905, No. 254.
3. S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 145.
4. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. I, No. 4, p. 181.

a feeble attempt made by a small power with far-reaching ambitions, that took advantage of the disruption in the country caused by the Narapatis (the Karṇāṭa kings), the Gajapatis (Gāṅgas of Kaḷiṅga) and Aśvapatis (the Muhammadans) and other minor chiefs constantly fighting against each other for individual supremacy.

The gift itself shall now be examined. The king happened to reach in the course of his military marches, Śrī Parvata (Śrī Śaila), the holy of the holies for the Śaivites, where he came under the spiritual influence of a great celebate-sage called Viśva-nātha or Viśvēśvara, who had Śrī Parvata as his head-quarters and was renowned both for his saintliness and learning. We find some of his inscriptions in the temple of Cālukya Bhīmēś-vara, and it appears that he was a great guru with a large number of disciples that aided him in spreading Śaivism in the Telugu country.

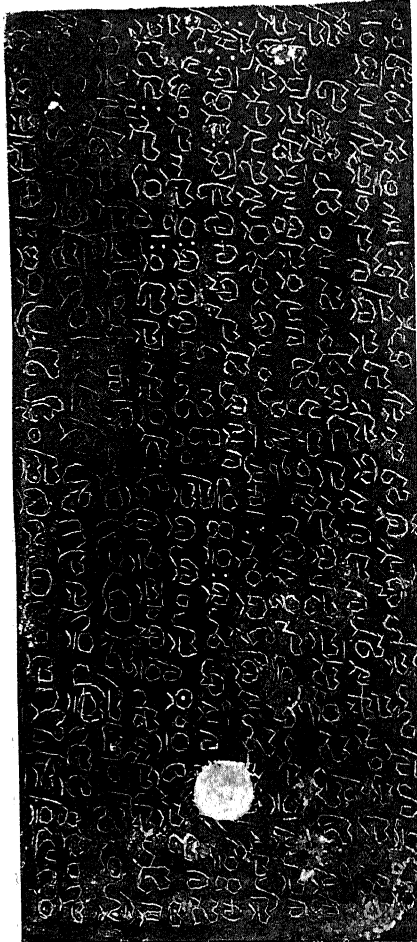
He was like a second Śiva, observing, as a bachelor, the Naiṣṭhika-vratas prescribed, having controlled the senses, and came of the Kauśika-gōtra. Such spiritual dignity and sincerity of purpose the king discerned in the sage that the moment he saw him he became his disciple and was so devoted to him from thence that he felt that unless he made some gifts (dānas) to the sage, the only deserving person in his eyes to receive them, the members of his illustrious family or race which counted kings like Rāma, Arikāla and Karikāla etc., could not be considered to deserve their superior birth in that noble race. This resolve he translated into action by giving to the sage a village called Kaṇḍvakolnu in the Śaka year 1277 arrived at by the chronogram, *muni* (sages), *i.e.* 7, *ṛṣi* (sages) *i.e.* 7, *nētra* (eyes) *i. e.* 2, and *Candra* (moon) *i.e.* 1, on Monday, in the month of Kārttika (=Monday, 21st October, 1355 A.D.). The cyclic year would then be Manmatha.

The boundaries of the village are then stated in old Telugu. To the east of it was a big anthill; to the south-east a low land with tamarind trees; to the south a stream; to the south-west an elevated ground with fig trees and Nandikambha or a pillar supporting or bearing the figure of Nandī (bull); to the west a stream coming from a dale; to the north a paddy-pit (probably low ground to keep or collect paddy in) and to the north-west Bommeḍamukkulu?



FIRST PLATE : SECOND SIDE.

MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF BHAKTIRĀJA.



SECOND PLATE: FIRST SIDE.

None of the boundaries mentioned above appear to be the names of other villages or places of interest. They are merely fields, streams and other places probably of local interest and their inclusion in this grant is just to make the grant familiar to the people, to whom the common places mentioned, which would otherwise be insignificant, were probably too familiar. For this reason these boundaries are called "well-known" (*prathita sīmānam*-line, 44).

The inscription finishes with the usual Vyāsa ślōkas, "Sva-dattām etc." and with the verse "Sāmānyō'yam, etc." found in almost all donative records which emphasise in clear terms that the grant should be respected by all in every way.

TEXT (TRANSLITERATED).

First Plate : Second side.

Line 1. Dēva(ḥ) Śvēta-Varāhō māṁ[1]pāyādyō ghana-saṁni-bhāṁ| Asavarṇēti saṁci-
" 2. ṁtya daṁṣṭrayōdavahan-mahīṁ| [1*] Pārvatī-paramē-śānau jagataḥ pi-
" 3. tarāvapi| Suputrau yēna manyētē sōyam pāyād-Gajā-nanaḥ| [2*]
" 4. Surapītasudhā bhāti tanvī cāṁdramasyī[2] kaḷā| Haviṣē dugdhadō-
" 5. hā gau-ragdhni[3]hōtrī-va yajvanā| [3*] Rājanyakasyāt-manidhānaka-
" 6. sya pratāpasatkīrtiguṇō(ṇō)dayāya| Uṣṇaṁ ca śītaṁ
" 7. ca mahair-vahaṁtau Bhāsvatsudhāṁśū vijayaṁ Vidha-tāṁ[4]| [4*] Sū-
" 8. ryyavaṁśē mahīśānāmādyō Manu-rajāyata| Bhūma-
" 9. yiṁ nāvamārōpya matsyātmā yamajūgupat| [5*] Vi-
" 10. jitya tapasā Bharggaṁ Gaṁgā tanmauḷibhūṣaṇaṁ|

Sceond Plate : First side.

" 11. Yēnākṛṣya bhuvaṁ nītā sa tadvaṁśyō Bhagīrathaḥ| [6*] Apiprathaṁni-[5]

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1. "*ṁ*" in *māṁ* has been inserted above "*mā*".
2. Read "*cāndramasī*".
3. " "*agnihōtrī*".
4. " "*vidhattām*".
5. " "*Apiprathanni*".

Line 12. maṁ vaṁśa-mikṣvāku-pramukhā-nṛpāḥ| Yadvikramēṇa Śakrasya

„ 13. svārājyam prājyatāmayāt| [7*] Ārūḍha-Śakra-vṛṣabhassa Kaku

„ 14. stha-bhūpō mōghīkṛtēṁdrakuliśaḥ ca Raghu-pravīraḥ| Rāmaḥ ca baddha-

„ 15. jaladhir-Daśakaṁṭha-haṁtā tadvaṁśajā iti tataḥ kimu vaṁrṇaniyyaṁ[6]|. [8*]

„ 16. Arikālas-tatō jātaḥ Karikālas-tatō bhavēt[7]| Aticitraiḥ caritraiḥ svaiḥ

„ 17. pūrvajānatyaśēta yaḥ| [9*] Astnāsīd[8]-Gāṁgatōyairanudinamavanīpā-

„ 18. lahastakramāttaiḥ Kāvērīsētubaṁdhē nikhila-narapatīnagrahī-dagravēṣṭyai|

„ 19. Astaṁbhīd-Bhōjarājaprahitamapacitē-rbhājanaṁ b(h)aṁdhavī-

„ 20. yyaṁ pādāṁguṣṭhēna bhālē[9] vilasita-mabhidat-Pallavēṁdrasya nētraṁ| [10*]

„ 21. Karikālānvayōdbhūtair-Nalla-Bhīmapurōgamaiḥ| Surājabhiḥ ciraṁ

Second Plate : Second side.

„ 22. kālaṁ mahīya-mamahīyata| [11*] Dūhatta[10]-Nārāyaṇa-Dāma-

„ 23. bhūpāl-Lakṣ(m)īpatēs-Sōma-nṛpālakō-bhūt| Sāmaṁtabhūpālakarāṁ-

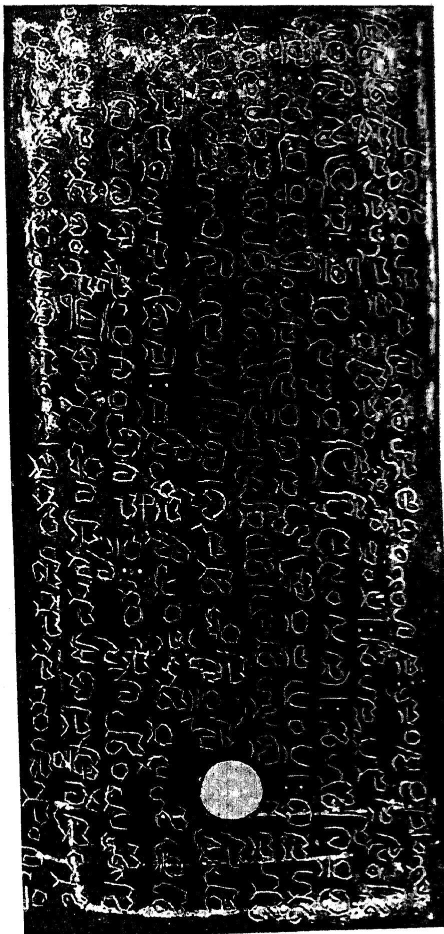
„ 24. bujānāṁ bhālēṣu[11] yaḥ kuṭmalatāṁ[12] akārṣīt| [12*] Tasmāt-Sūrāṁ-

„ 25. bikājānē-rabhūd-Gaṁgā nṛ[13]-dharō-nṛpaḥ| Pratyūṣē suraviprāṇāṁ

„ 26. Bhāsvān vaikalpikō-bhavēt[14]| [13*] Tasya Sōmānvayōdbhūta-Kāma-

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6. „ "*varṇanīyam*".
7. „ "*tatō-bhavat*".
8. „ "*asnāsīt*".
9. „ "*phāle*".
10. „ "*Dōhatta*".
11. „ "*Phālēṣu*".
12. „ "*Kuḍmalatām*".
13. *nṛ* is superfluous.
14. Read "*--bhavat*".



SECOND PLATE: SECOND SIDE.



THIRD PLATE : FIRST SIDE.

Line 27. bhūpa-tanūbhavā| Bhāryāsīd-Irugāṁbāryā sōdaryā Vēṁga-
„ 28. bhūpatēḥ| [14*] Gaṁgādhara-kṣōṇipatē-ramuṣyām Śrī Bhaktirājaḥ kṣi-
„ 29. tikalpabhūjaḥ| Prasaṁna-Viśvēśvara-dēvabhaktaḥ praśāsti nṛ[1] rā-
„ 30. jyaṁ nṛpavargapūjyaḥ| [15*] Gaṁḍabhēruṁḍa-biruda-māhavēṣvabhivīkṣya
„ 31. yaṁ| Vairisiṁhāḥ palāyaṁtē vihāya svā-mahaṁkṛtiṁ| [16*]

Third plate: First side.

„ 32. Rāyavēśyābhujaṁgatvaṁ yuktamasyaiva bhūpatēḥ| Māna-mutsṛjya rā-
„ 33. jāna-ssēvaṁtē yadamuṁ mudā| [17*] Kaṁdarpasūnuṁ Kali-Kāmadhēnuṁ
„ 34. Śrī Viśvanātham ya yēṣāṁ[2] nidhānaṁ| Diśō jigīṣur-vicaraṁ dadarśa Śrī-
„ 35. parvataikāyatanaṁ sa rājā| [18*] Athā-paramivēśānaṁ Kauśikam brahma-
„ 36. cāriṇam| Praṇipatya sa Bhaktīśō dṛḍhabhakti-rajāya-ta| [19*] Śākē munyurṣinē-
„ 37. tracaṁdragaṇitē saṁvatsarēsmai Mahākārttikyāṁ Śaśivā-
„ 38. rabhāji vimalaśrīḥ Cōḍa-Bhaktīśvaraḥ| Grāmaṁ prā-dita-naiṣṭhikāya
„ 39. yaminē Viśvēśvarāyātulaṁ sāṣṭaiśvaryaka-maṣṭabhō-gasahitaṁ
„ 40. Śrī Kaṁḍvakolnum mudā| [20*] Asya sīmānaḥ| Tūrpuna peddapu-
„ 41. ṭṭa Āgnēyāna Ciṁtājōṟupallamunnu dakṣiṇānaku vāṁgu
„ 42. Nairṛtiki Mēḍitāpānu Naṁdikaṁbhamunnu paḍumaṭi-kiṁ ga-

Third plate: Second side.

„ 43. numēṟu uttarānaku vaṭlakuṁṭa īśānyānaku Boṁme-
„ 44. ḍamukkulu polamēralu|| Ēvaṁ prathitasīmānaṁ grā-mam datvā
„ 45. mahīpatiḥ| Pātrapradānata[3]-svasya vaṁśyānva(mśyā)n-amanyata| [21*]

1. *nṛ* is superfluous.
2. Read "*yaśasām*".
3. Read "*pradānataḥ*".

Line 46. Śrī Kaḍvakolni[1]-nāma-grāmasyāsya pradānavikhyātyā| Śāsanami-

„ 47. da-mākalpaṁ prakalpatām Bhaktibhūpa[2]-vitīrnṇaṁ[3]| [22*] Svadattāṁ pa-

„ 48. radattāṁ vā yō harēta vasuṁdharāṁ| Ṣaṣṭir-varṣa-sahasrā-

„ 49. ṇi viṣṭhāyām jāyatē krimiḥ| [23*] Sāmānyōyaṁ Dharmmasētur-nṛ-

„ 50. pāṇā(ṁ) kālē kālē pālanīyyo[4] bhavadbhiḥ| Sarvā-nētān-bhāvinaḥ Pārtthivēṁdrā-

„ 51. n-bhūyō bhūyō yācatē Rāmacaṁdraḥ| [24*]

TRANSLATION.

Verse 1. May the lord, the white Varāha (*i. e.*, the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu) protect me, who lifted up the earth, of colour as black as the clouds, on his tusk thinking that she was dissimilar to him in colour (*i.e.*, not his equal in caste to be spoused by him)[5].

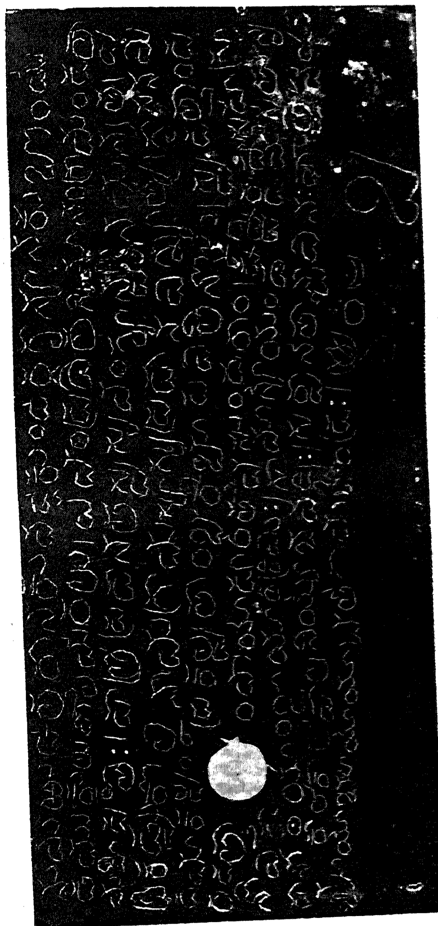
Verse 2. May Gajānana (the elephant-faced god) protect (me), by whom God Paramaśiva and his consort Pārvatī, the world-parents, consider themselves to be possessed of a good and illustrious son.

Verse 3. The tiny digit of the moon, the nector in whose rays have been drunk by the gods, shines (*i.e.*, prospers) like the cow used in the performance of agni-rites (agnihōtra) wbich has been milked of its milk by the sacrificer for ablution (havis).

Verse 4. May the sun and the moon, that carry in their rays heat and cold respectively give victory to the world of kings who treasure most the elevation of their souls or who care most for self-respect, so that their fame arising out of their valour may appear (*i.e.*, spread).

Verse 5. Of the kings, in the line of the sun, the first was Manu, who, during the deluge (praḷaya) was protected by Viṣṇu appearing as a fish that landed him safely in the world-boat.

1. Read "*Kaṇḍvakolnu*".
2. The last *pāda* is deficient by one *mātrā*.
3. Read "*vitīrṇam*".
4. Read "*pālanīyō*".
5. This second meaning is suggested by the terms *asavarṇā* and *Udavahat*.



THIRD PLATE: SECOND SIDE.

MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF BHAKTIRĀJA.



SEAL.

Verse 6. To this family (sūrya-vaṁśa) belongs Bhagīratha, by whom, after conquering (*i.e.*, pleasing) Śiva by severe penance, the river Gaṅgā, the jewel on the head of Śiva was dragged to the world.

Verse 7. Kings like Ikṣvāku made this race famous, by whose valour (*i.e.*, valorous assistance) the sovereignty of Indra became wide or large.

Verse 8. This race need not be further extolled. It will suffice if we say that to it belonged several kings such as :— Kakutstha who rode on Indra himself, the latter carrying the former on his back as a bull, the heroic Raghu who made the thunderbolt weapon of Indra useless, and Rāma, the slayer of the ten-headed demon Rāvaṇa, who built a dam across the seas.

Verse 9. Then was born Arikāla, and Karikāla came after him. The latter surpassed his ancestors by his wonderful exploits.

Verse 10. He (Karikāla) bathed everyday with the waters of the river Gaṅgā fetched for him by various kings that passed these waters from hand to hand (*i.e.*, the waters were collected in pitchers and were passed on from the Ganges by hand by the various kings that ruled between the Ganges and Karikāla's kingdom). In the construction of a dam for the river Kāvērī (when its waters overflew its banks) he engaged all the kings to effect a suitable blockade. He received or upheld or supported the friendly reverence of his leige, Bhōja-rāja (probably a Vākāṭaka) who wished to assure him that he would be his vassal and ally. With ease he broke (*i.e.*, blinded) the eye (*i. e.*, the third eye) on the fore-head of the Pallava king (*i.e.*, Trilōcana Pallava) by stamping on the latter's forehead with the first finger of his leg.[1]

Verse 11. By several good kings such as Nalla-Bhīma of this race to which Karikāla also belonged, the earth was ruled and as a result of their virtuous rule prospered or was honoured.

Verse 12. To Dāmabhūpa alias Dōhatta-Nārāyaṇa, the husband of Lakṣmī was born Sōma-nṛpāla who made the lotus-like hands of the subordinate kings assume the forms of buds in front of their foreheads (*i.e.*, they worshipped him with their hands folded in añjali).

1. For an account of the tradition *see* Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, *Trilōcana Pallava and Karikāla Cōla*, p. 10.

Verse 13. To him, the husband of Sūrāmbikā, was born king Gaṅgādhara, who, when the day dawned made the sun optional to the gods and the brahmans (*i.e.*, he was like the sun unto them so much so that the need for the real sun was not so much felt.

Verse 14. The venerable Irugāmbā, daughter of king Kāmabhūpa of the lunar race and sister of king Vēṅga-bhūpati, became his wife.

Verse 15. To king Gaṅgādhara, through her, (was born) Śrī Bhakti-rāja who was as it were a Kalpa tree (wish-giving tree) of the world. He was a great devotee of the gracious lord of the universe, Lord Śiva, and was ruling the kingdom being revered by other kings.

Verse 16. On seeing him who bore the title Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa (a mythical bird), in battles the inimical lions (*i.e.*, the foes are compared to lions) stop roaring and take to their heels.

Verse 17. This king alone deserves the title Rāyavēśyābhujaṅga (*i.e.*, a viṭa who sports with the harlot who in this case is sovereignty or *rājyalakṣmī*), for all the kings leave modesty or (self-respect) and serve him with pleasure.

Verse 18. This king, while engaged in conquering neighbouring kingdoms, in the course of his march, came to Śrī Parvata where he saw Śrī Viśvanātha, the reservoir of fame and virtue, the son of Manmatha or the god of love (*i.e.*, he was of handsome appearance), the milch-cow Kāmadhēnu of the Kali era, who had made Śrī Parvata as his head-quarters.

Verse 19. Then he, Bhaktīśa (Bhaktirāja), bowed before him (Viśvanātha), who was a bachelor of the Kauśika-gōtra and who looked like another Śiva himself, and became ardently devoted to him.

Verse 20. In the Śaka year 1277 denoted by the chronogram, *muni* (the sages), *i.e.* 7, *ṛṣi* (the sages) *i.e.* 7, *nētra* (eyes) *i.e.* 2, and candra (moon) *i.e.* 1, on Monday, in the month of Kārttika (A. D. 1355, Monday, 21st October), the Cōḍa king, Bhaktīśvara, of spotless fame, gave away with joy to Vīśvēśvara, the austere mendicant, (naiṣṭhika-brahmacārī or yamī) a complete village called Śrī Kaṇḍvakolnu, along with eight kinds of wealth (aṣṭaiśvarya) and eight kinds of enjoyment (aṣṭabhōga).

Lines 40-44 contain the boundaries of the village granted.

The boundaries of this are: In the east Peddapuṭṭa, *i.e.*, big ant-hill, in the south-east (āgnēya) Cintājōṟu-pallamu, *i.e.*, low-lying land with tamarind trees, in the south vāngu, *i.e.*, a stream, in the south-west mēḍitāpa or elevated ground with fig trees and Nandikambha or pillar bearing a bull (nandī) relief on it, in the west a stream from a dale; in the north a paddy-pit (probably low ground to keep paddy in) and in the north-east Bommeḍamukkulu ?. (These are) the boundaries.

Verse 21. Thus having given away the village of well-known boundaries, the king felt that, by his gift having gone to a person that deserved it, the members of his race deserved their births in his race.

Verse 22. By the fame of the gift of the village called Śrī Kaḍvakolni spreading, let this grant, the royal order enjoined or issued by Bhaktibhūpa, spread or become popular till the kalpas, *i.e.*, for ever.

Verse 23. He who dishonours land gifted away either by himself or by others, he shall be born as a worm in dung for 60,000 years.

Verse 24. This ordinary gift of kings which is as it were the bridge of Dharma (*i. e.*, which enables one to cross the ocean of life) should be protected and honoured by you in time. Rāmacandra thus requests, again and again, all those kings that are to come.

REVIEW.

SOUTH INDIAN PORTRAITS IN STONE AND METAL by T. G. Aravamuthan, Advocate madras. Published by Messrs. Luzac & Co., London. Crown × 16 Vo. pp. i-xv+96. Price 5 sh. or Rs. 3 nett.

This is a very interesting brochure from the pen of Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan, who is also a prominent contributor to our Journal. Mr. Aravamuthan is a scholar of repute, and has attained already great distinction in the pursuit of historical studies and research, especially, in South Indian History and Tamil literature. The present work is, as mentioned in the preface, a complement to another book entitled " Portrait Sculpture in South India," which is being published by the India Society, London. The subject forms a very fascinating study, though it is not commonly pursued by scholars and historians. Indeed, it has been assumed by superficial critics and observers that there is very little portrait sculpture in South India. A perusal of this work will show how prortrait sculpture has been a persistent art through out South Indian History. It will also remove the impression that portrait sculpture is an art which the Hindus did not cultivate and had even an aversion to. The author has taken great pains to produce illustrations of various statues, in stone and metal scattered throughout southern India, and has also given a short account of the persons whom they can be said to represent. Unfortunately, as usual in this country, in many cases, the individual who is represented in the sculpture is not specifically mentioned underneath the statue. Hence, too often, we have to investigate whom the portrait is likely to represent. After a brief survey of the many sculptures in stone and metal found in temples and other places, the author comes to the conclusion that nowhere in India has the art had so persistent a life as in South India, or such a creditable record of achievement. Nowhere else has the art drawn its inspiration more from the fondest beliefs and the deepest convictions of the people. We must congratulate Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan on this work and on the opening up of a new field of investigation in South Indian History which

will amply repay the efforts of scholars and is likely to yield more beneficent results than the barren investigation of dates and the records of forgotten dynasties. Mr. Aravamuthan commands a virile pen, and presents his conclusions in an impartial and sound manner, without undue emphasis or sweeping generalization. We await with interest the publication of his other books which may throw a great deal more light on this fascinating subject.

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA IYER.

OBITUARY NOTICE.

We deeply regret to announce the death of Professor P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, Professor of Indian History, Annamalai University, on the 16th of June, 1931. He was for a good number of years Reader in Indian History in the Madras University. He had a long and brilliant record as a professor and was a scholar of great repute in English and in History. In the world of research scholars, he holds a distinguished place, and he was the author of many works, which were the result of laborious study and research. He was a very prominent contributor to our Journal, and many articles from his vigorous and literary pen have already appeared in the volumes of this Journal. Recently, he began to contribute a series of articles on the "Saka Pallavas in Indian History." Unfortunately, the series has not yet been finished, and in his death, the Journal has sustained a great loss. His writings were marked by originality of thought and vigour of expression. His death has created a void in the field of South Indian scholarship and research. We beg to express our heartfelt sympathy to the family of the deceased Professor in their sad bereavement.



Though there are three complete sentences here, yet they may be taken in sense as one sentence, Viṭar-c-cilai poṟitta vēntan̲, Pūn-tan̲-porun̲ai-p-poṟaiyan̲ Māntarañ cēral man̲n̲avan̲ vāḻi.

Note 2.—If different actions of the same person or object have to be mentioned and also different epithets denoting the same, the predicates should be mentioned at the end, of which all but the last one should be indeclinable past participles and the last should be a finite verb.

Ex. Man̲n̲an̲ Iḷantiraiyan̲ ven̲ṟu tirumpin̲ān̲.
(King Iḷantiraiyan̲ returned after victory.)

43. தன்மைச் சொல்லே யஃறிணைக் கிளவியென்று
எண்ணுவழி மருங்கின் விரவுதல் வரையார்.
Tan̲mai-c collē y-aḵṟiṇai-k kiḷavi-y-en̲ṟu
Eṇṇu-vaḻi maruṅkin̲ viravutal varaiyār.

It is not prevented to count an *aḵṟiṇai* noun along with the first personal pronoun.

Ex. Yān̲um en̲ eḵkamum cāṟum.
(My weapon and myself are sufficient.)

Note 1.—The above meaning is given by Iḷampūraṇar and Teyvaccilaiyār; Cēn̲āvaraiyar and Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar give a different meaning (*i.e.*) when the subject is a first personal pronoun and an *aḵṟiṇai* noun, the predicate is in the first person plural. If the latter interpretation is correct, the sūtra

Avaṟṟuḷ
Pan̲mai y-uraikkun tan̲mai-k kiḷavi
Eṇṇiyan̲ maruṅkiṟ ṟiripavai y-uḷavē
(Tol. Col. 209.)

is unnecessary since it conveys the same meaning. Besides sanction is necessary to count *aḵṟiṇai* nouns along with first personal pronoun, since one is generally inclined to count like objects. Hence the interpretation given by Iḷampūraṇar and Teyvaccilaiyār is, in my opinion, correct.

Note. 2.—Cēn̲āvaraiyar's interpretation of this sūtra is clearly seen from his commentary under the sūtra 'Viyaṅkō ḷ-eṇṇu-p-peyar tiṇai-viravu varaiyār.' (Tol. Col. 45.)

Note 3.—It is worthy of notice that sanction is not accorded anywhere in Tolkāppiyam to count an *aḵṟiṇai* noun and a second personal pronoun, nor for using the predicate in the second person plural (*i. e.*) such expressions as "nīyum nin̲-paṭai-k-kaḷa-

mum cāṟīr (your army and yourself are sufficient) have not received sanction at the hands of Tolkāppiyaṉār. Iḷampūraṇar states that the use of the word '*maruṅkū*' which serves no purpose in this sūtra suggests the sanction of such usage. Cēṉāvaraiyar says in his commentary under Tol. Col. 45. that such expressions are sanctioned in the last sūtra of Collatikāram in Tolkāppiyam.

44. ஒருமை யெண்ணின் பொதுப்பிரி பாற்சொல்
ஒருமைக் கல்ல தெண்ணுமுறை நில்லாது.
Orumai y-eṇṇiṉ potu-p-piri pāṟ-col
Orumai-k k-alla t-eṇṇumuṟai nillātu.

The words (*oruvaṉ* and *orutti*) which respectively mean one man and one woman and have each a suffix denoting the *pāl* or gender-number are not used in counting.

Note 1.—*Orumai-y-eṇṇiṉ potu-c-col* or the word which denotes a single object and is common to both *āṇpāl* and *peṇpāl* is *oruvar*. *Oṟumai-y-eṇṇiṉ potu-p-piri-pāṟ-col* or the words which separately denote one man and one woman are respectively *oruvaṉ* and *orutti*. In counting, one has to say *oruvar, iruvar, mūvar, nālvar* etc., and not *oruvaṉ, iruvar, mūvar* etc., nor *orutti, iruvar, mūvar* etc.

Note 2.—Iḷampūraṇar and Teyvaccilaiyār have given the above meaning to the sūtra. Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, on the other hand, have taken the sūtra to mean that the words *oruvaṉ* and *orutti* which are *orumai-y-eṇṇiṉ-potu-p-piri-pāṟ-col* are used only in connection with the number denoting *orumai* and not with the numbers denoting *irumai, mummai* etc. (*i.e.*) the suffixes *ṉ* denoting *āṇpāl* and *i* denoting *peṇpāl* are used only in connection with the number denoting single object as *oruvaṉ* and *orutti* and not with those denoting more than one; hence the words *iruvaṉ, irutti, mūvaṉ, mutti* etc., cannot be used. There are six defects in this interpretation :—(1) They take the expression *orumai-y-eṇṇiṉ potu-p-piri-pāṟ-col* to denote the suffixes *ṉ* and *i* instead of the words *oruvaṉ* and *orutti*. (2) They take the expression *eṇṇumuṟai* to mean in respect of the numbers *irumai, mummai* etc., instead of the natural meaning 'while counting'. (3) Such an interpretation of the word *eṇṇu-muṟai* is not suited to the context; for both the sūtras that precede and follow this sūtra deal with the use of expressions while counting. (Cf. the words *eṇṇu-vaḻi* in Tol. Col. 43 and *eṇṇu-p-*

peyar in Tol. Col. 45.) (4) They have to take that this sūtra *suggests* that *oruvar* is used in counting and not *oruvaṉ* or *orutti*, which, Iḷampūṇar and Teyvaccilaiyār think, is the direct meaning of the sūtra. (5) Besides Cēṉāvaraiyar has to find an explanation for the use of the singular verb *nillātu* as the predicate of the word *potu-p-piri-pāṟ-col*, which, according to his interpretation, is plural in number since it denotes the two suffixes *ṉ* and *i*. (6) Lastly their statement that the words *iruvaṉ*, *irutti*, *mūvan*, *mutti* etc., cannot be used is against the ordinary rules of science; for the use of a suffix or suffixes may be prohibited in certain places only if there is a chance of its or their being used in those places on the authority of another sūtra (cf. *Prāptasyaiva niṣēdhaḥ*). Here, there is no possibility for the suffixes *ṉ* and *i* which denote singular number to be used in words *iruvaṉ*, *irutti*, *muvaṉ*, *mutti* etc. since their bases denote objects more than one.

Hence the interpretation given by Iḷampūraṇar and Teyvaccilaiyār is direct, unlaboured and sound.

45. வியங்கோ ளெண்ணுப்பெயர் திணைவிரவு வரையார்.
Viyaṅkō ḷ-eṇṇu-p-peyar tiṇai-viravu varaiyār.

It is not prohibited to connect *uyar-tiṇai* nouns and *aḵṟiṇai* nouns by 'and' if both of them have a verb in the potential mood as the common predicate.

Ex. Ā-v-um āyaṉ-um celka.
(Let the cows and the shepherd go.)

Note 1.—Iḷampūraṇar and Teyvaccilaiyār have given the above interpretation; while Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, on the other hand, state that this sūtra sanctions the use of one verb in the potential mood when the subject consists of both *uyartiṇai* and *aḵṟiṇai* nouns. Since no other sūtra sanctions the counting of *uyartiṇai* and *aḵṟiṇai* and since *viyaṅkōḷ-viṉai* or verb in the potential mood has the same form whether it denotes *uyartiṇai* or *aḵṟiṇai* (cf. Tol. Col. 222), the interpretation of Iḷampūraṇar and Teyvaccilaiyār is sound.

Note 2.—Cēṉāvaraiyar condemns Iḷampūraṇar's interpretation of this sūtra on four grounds:—(1) Even though in expressions like *ā-v-um āyaṉum celka*, *ā* (cows) and *āyaṉ* (shepherd) are respectively *āḵṟiṇai* and *uyartiṇai*, still they may be connected by 'and' on account of their having the relation of 'the grazer and the grazed'. Similarly in other expressions such rela-

tions may be found. (2) Iḷampūraṇar himself quotes '*yāṉai, tēr, kutirai, kālāḷ eṟintāṉ* (he routed elephants, chariots, cavalry and foot-soldiers) under Tol. Col. 291 as an example where *uyartiṇai* and *aḵṟiṇai* nouns qualify the same predicate *eṟintāṉ* which is not in the potential mood. There is no sūtra which sanctions that *uyartiṇai* and *aḵṟiṇai* nouns may be connected by the word 'and' when they take a common predicate in the indicative mood. (3) Tolkāppiyaṉār himself states that *eṇṇu-t-tiṇai-viravu-p-peyar* or nouns belonging to *uyartiṇai* and *aḵṟiṇai* counted together take the *aḵṟiṇai* verb in Tol. Col. 51. Hence he may have thought, in this sūtra, of the *predicate* and not of the subject. (4) Since expressions are found in plenty where *uyartiṇai* nouns in third person are counted together with *aḵṟiṇai* nouns, Tolkāppiyaṉār could have said '*uyartiṇai-c-collē y-aḵṟiṇai-k kiḷavi*' instead of '*taṉmai-c- collē y-aḵṟiṇai-k kiḷavi*' in Tol. Col. 43, so that the use of all *uyartiṇai* nouns and pronouus whether they are in the first person, second person or third person with *aḵṟiṇai* nouns taking the common predicate might have been sanctioned.

As regards the *first* objection, we may ascribe some relation or other between two objects. When the sūtra may be taken to sanction *directly* that the *uyartiṇai* nouns and *aḵṟiṇai* nouns may be connected by '*and*', why should we resort to ascribe some relation between them to sanction such a usage ? The *second* objection is not a serious one. Cēṉāvaraiyar himself says that the use of *uyartiṇai* and *aḵṟiṇai* nouns taking a common predicate which is not in the potential mood is to be taken by *taṉṉiṉa-muṭittal*. What harm is there if Iḷampūraṇar takes such expressions by the same principle *taṉṉiṉa-muṭittal*. The *third* objection does not seem to be sound. Even though in Tol. Col. 51 Tolkāppiyaṉār says about the predicate, still he need not have mentioned anything about the predicate in this sūtra; for the previous sūtra decidedly deals with the *counting* of objects. Hence there is no harm by taking that this sūtra deals with the *subject* of the verb in the potential mood. (4) The *fourth* objection may be met thus:—It must be clearly noted that according to Tolkāppiyaṉār a verb in the first person is always *uyartiṇai* and hence can never be used along with *aḵṟiṇai* subject. Hence there came the necessity for the sūtra Tol. Col. 209 which says that a verb in the first person plural may be used if the subject is made up of a pronoun of the first person connected with an

aḵṟiṇai noun. The sanction of such a use of the verb in the first person plural arises only when the counting of a first personal pronoun and an *aḵṟiṇai* noun is sanctioned. Hence is the need of the expression *taṉmai-c-collē* in the sūtra Tol. Col. 43.

46. வேறுவினைப் பொதுச்சொ லொருவினை கிளவார்.
Vēṟu-viṉai-p potu-c-co l-oru-viṉai kiḷavār.

A predicate denoting the *species* of an action is not used along with a noun connected with its *genus*, (*i.e.*) the predicate denoting the genus of the action itself should be used.

For instance the word *aṭicil* means an eatable which is *uṇpatŭ* or that is swallowed without the action of the teeth, *tiṉpatŭ* or that is masticated, *parukuvatŭ* or that is drunk like water and *nakkuvatŭ* or that is licked like viscous fluid. Hence one should not use expressions like *aṭicil uṇṭāṉ, aṭicil tiṉṟāṉ, aṭicil parukiṉāṉ* and *aṭicil nakkiṉāṉ;* but one should use *aṭicil ayiṉṟāṉ, cōṟŭ* (rice) *uṇṭāṉ, ūṉ* (flesh) *tiṉṟāṉ, nīr* (water) *parukiṉāṉ* and *tēṉ* (honey) *nakkiṉāṉ*. Similarly the word *aṇi* means an ornament which is *kavippatŭ* or that is placed over like the crown, *kaṭṭuvatŭ* or that is tied like flowers to the hair, *ceṟippatŭ* or that is put on like bracelets and *pūṇuvatŭ* or that is hung like garlands, necklaces etc. Hence one should not use expressions like *aṇi kavittāṉ, aṇi kaṭṭiṉāṉ, aṇi ceṟintāṉ*, and *aṇi pūṇṭāṉ*, but should use *aṇi aṇintāṉ, muṭi* (crown) *kavittāṉ, pūvai* (flowers) *kuḻaliṟ* (tuft) *kaṭṭiṉāṉ, tōḷvaḷai* (armlets) *ceṟittāṉ*, and *mālai* (garlands) *pūṇṭāṉ*.

Similarly the word *iyam* means a musical instrument which is *koṭṭuvatŭ* or that is beaten, *ūtuvatŭ* or that which is blown and *eḻuppuvatŭ* or that which is provided with strings. Hence one should use *iyam iyampiṉār* etc.

Note 1.—Cēṉāvaraiyar takes the word '*micaintār*' in the same category as '*ayiṉṟār*'. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar remarks that both of them cannot be taken to denote the action of eating in a general sense and '*uṇṭār*' should be used in their place. This shows that such restrictions were not carefully observed in later literature.

Note 2.—It is learnt from the commentary of Iḷampūraṇar that *orūu-viṉai* is another reading in the place of *oru-viṉai* in the sūtra.

47. எண்ணுங் காலு மதுவதன் மரபே.
Eṇṇuṅ kālu m-atu-v-ataṉ marapē.

The same rule (as is mentioned in the previous sūtra) should be observed when eatables of different nature are counted, (*i.e.*) the verb giving the general sense should be used.

Ex. Cōruṅ kariyum ayinrār.
(They ate rice and meat.)
Yāluṅ kulalum iyampinār.
(They played upon *yāl* and pipe.)

Note 1.—This rule, too, gradually fell into disuse. For the verb *uṇ* is used as one giving general sense in Puranānūrů. cf. Ūn-ruvai kari cōrů uṇṭů. (Having taken in meat, chutney, vegetables and rice.) (Puranā. 14, 14.)

Note 2.—Teyvaccilaiyār reads *eṇṇuṅ-kālai* in place of *eṇṇuṅ-kālum*. The latter reading seems to be better since the use of the particle '*um*' is appropriate.

48. இரட்டைக் கிளவி யிரட்டிற்பிரிந் திசையா.
Iraṭṭai-k kiḷavi y-iraṭṭir-pirin t-icaiyā.

There are certain words whose roots are always reduplicated.

Ex. Carukŭ eriyuṅkālai curu-curu-t-t-atŭ.

(Dried leaves produced a hissing sound when being burnt.)

Pakaivar koru-koru-t-t-ār.
(Enemies bubbled with anger.)
Aracan mukam karu-karu-t-t-atŭ.
(The king's face became very black.)

Note 1.—Iḷampūraṇar reads '*Iraṭṭu-p-pirinticaiyā*' in place of '*Iraṭṭir-pirinticaiyā*'.

Note 2.—It is worthy of note that the *iraṭṭai-k-kiḷavi* referred to in this sūtra is a word denoting noise, feeling or quality.

Note 3.—The difference betweeen *iraṭṭai-k-kiḷavi* mentioned here and *aṭukkŭ* mentioned in Tol. Col. 411, 424, 425 etc. is that, in the former, the root is doubled like curu-curu-t-t-atŭ, karu-karu-t-t-atŭ etc. and in the latter the whole word is doubled like *kaṇṭīrē kaṇṭīrē*, *pōyirrŭ pōyirrŭ* etc.

49. ஒருபெயர்ப் பொதுச்சொ லுள்பொரு ளொழியத்
தெரிபுவேறு கிளத்த றலைமையும் பன்மையும்
உயர்திணை மருங்கினு மஃறிணை மருங்கினும்.
Oru-peyar-p potu-c-co l-uḷ-poru l-oḷiya-t

Teripu-vēṟu kiḷatta ṟalaimai-y-um paṉmai-y-um
Uyartiṇai maruṅkiṉu m-aḵṟiṇai maruṅkiṉum.

If in certain expressions *uyartiṇai* and *aḵṟiṇai* words have to be used to denote a group made up of different kinds of persons or objects, those that denote the pre-eminent or the majority are used. For instance one uses the word *pārppaṉa-c-cēri* (the residence of Brahmins) to denote a place where Brahmins and members of other communities reside, of whom the Brahmins are considered superior. Similarly the word *kamukan-tōṭṭam* to denote a garden containing *kamukŭ* (areca-palm) and other trees. Since *kamukŭ* is considered to be superior to other trees in the garden, the word *kamukan-tōṭṭam* is chosen. The word *eyiṉar-nāṭŭ* (the land of hunters) is used to denote a country where *eyiṉar* are in majority. Similarly the word *oṭu-v-aṅ-kāṭŭ* (forest containing *oṭu* trees) is used to denote a forest which abounds in round-leaved-discous feather-foil trees.

Note 1.—Teyvaccilaiyār takes the line '*uyartiṇai maruṅkiṉu m-aḵṟiṇai maruṅkiṉum*' found in this sūtra to the following sūtra.

50. பெயரினுந் தொழிலினும் பிரிபவை யெல்லாம்
மயங்கல் கூடா வழக்குவழிப் பட்டன.
Peyariṉun toḻiliṉum piripavai y-ellām
Mayaṅkal kūṭā vaḻakku-vaḻi-p paṭṭaṉa.

Nouns and verbs (belonging both to *uyartiṇai* and *aḵṟiṇai*) denoting different objects or actions should be counted together only according to usage.

Ex. Pāṇarun kūttarum viṟaliyarum vantaṉar.
(Pāṇars, kūttars and viṟaliyars came.)
Poṉṉun tukiru muttum.
(Gold, corals and pearls.)
(Puṟanā. 218.)
Āṭuvārum, pāṭuvārum, nakuvārum kūṭiṉar.
(Dancers, songsters and those that are merry assembled.)
Uṇpaṉavum, tiṉpaṉavum, parukuvaṉavum, nakkuvaṉavum eṉakku-kkoṭuttāṉ.
(He gave me eatables that can be swallowed, masticated, drunk and licked.)

Note 1.—Teyvaccilaiyār, instead of taking the line *uyartiṇai maruṅkiṉum- aḵṟiṇai maruṅkiṉum* to this sūtra might have read it in the previous sūtra and taken its idea here also by the

principle of *anuvṛtti*. He takes the word *eṉṉuṅkāl* here from the following sūtra. Instead of doing so he might have taken *eṉṉuṅ-kālum* from Tol. Col. 47.

Note 2.—The above meaning belongs to Teyvaccilaiyār. Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, on the other hand, have given a different meaning. (*i.e.*) It is no mistake if nouns common to men and women and verbs denoting action common to them both are used to denote either of them. Such expressions should have been sanctioned by usage. For example in the expression '*vaṭukar-aracar āyiravar makkaḷai y-uṭaiyar*' (hundred *vaṭuka* kings have children), the word *vaṭukar* which generally means men and women of *vaṭuka* caste here refers to only *vaṭuka* men by the association of the word *aracar*. Hence the word *vaṭukar* is here named *peṉ-ṉ-oḻi-miku-col* (word which applies to men alone to the exclusion of women). Similarly in the expression '*toṭiyōr koy-kuḻai y-arumpiya kumari ñāḻal*' (young jasmine sprouting on account of its being plucked by those who wear bracelets), the word *toṭiyōr* which should generally mean men or women wearing bracelets here refers to only women wearing bracelets since men are not generally used to wear them. Hence the word *toṭiyōr* is here named *āṉ-oḻi-mikucol* (word which applies to women alone to the exclusion of men). In the sentence '*ivar vāḻkkai-p-paṭṭār* (these persons have become house-holders), the word *ivar* refers to only women since the expression *vāḻkkai-p-paṭutal* is generally applied to women. Similarly in the sentence 'ivar kaṭṭil ēṟiṉār' (this person ascended the throne), the word *ivar* refers to a man since women were not generally used to ascend the throne in Tamil land.

Teyvaccilaiyār thinks that the above examples may come under *cārpù* mentioned in the sūtra

Avaṟṟuḷ,
Viṉai-vēṟù paṭūum pala-poru ḷ-oru-col
Vēṟu-paṭu viṉaiyiṉu m-iṉattiṉuñ cārpiṉum
Tēṟa-t tōṉṟum poruṭeri nilaiyē. (Tol. Col. 53.)

Teyvaccilaiyār's meaning to this sūtra seems to be better for two reasons:—(1) There is no other sūtra sanctioning the counting of like objects. (2) The following sūtra best fits in after this, since it deals with the nature of the verb which stands as the common predicate of *uyartiṉai* and *aḵṟiṉai* nouns.

Note 3.—The examples given by Iḷampūraṇar to this sūtra are 'iṉṟu i-v-vūr-p peṟṟam-ellām pāl kaṟakkum' (To-day all the cattle of this village give milk); 'iṉṟu i-v-v-ūṟ-p peṟṟam ellām uḻavu oḻintaṉa' (To-day all the cattle of this village are relieved of ploughing). Cēṉāvaraiyar remarks that those examples are incorrect; for, the word peṟṟam in the former example cannot but refer to cows on account of its association with the word *kaṟakkum*, since the power of giving milk always rests only with cows, and the same word in the latter example cannot but refer to bulls on account of its association with the words *uḻavu oḻintaṉa*, since the task of ploughing always rested only with bulls. In case cows also are sometimes used for ploughing fields Cēṉāvaraiyar's condemnation as regards the second example may not be accurate.

51. பலவயி னானு மெண்ணுத்திணை விரவுப்பெயர்
அஃறிணை முடிபின செய்யு ளுள்ளே.
Pala-vayi ṉ-āṉu m-eṇṇu-t-tiṇai viravu-p-peyar
Aஃṟiṇai muṭipiṉa ceyyu ḷ-uḷ-ḷ-ē.

If *uyartiṇai* and *aஃṟiṇai* nouns are connected by '*and*' and take a common predicate, the *aஃṟiṇai* predicate is generally used in poetry.

Ex. Kaṭuñ-ciṉatta kol-kaḷiṟum
Kaṭaḷ-pariya kali-māvum
Neṭuṅ-koṭiya nimir-tērum
Neñcuṭaiya pukaṉ-maṟavarum-eṉa
Nāṉkuṭaṉ māṇṭa tāyiṉum.

(Though the four parts (of the army) consisting of fiery war elephants, swift and daring horses, lofty chariots with long flags and bold and willing warriors were great).

Here the predicate *māṇṭatù* is *aஃṟiṇai* while the subject consists of *uyartiṇai* noun *maṟavar* and *aஃṟiṇai* nouns *kaḷirù*, *mā* and *tēr*.

Note 1.—The word *pala-vayiṉ-āṉum* (in many places) in the sūtra suggests that there may be a few places where the *uyartiṇai* predicate may be used.

Ex. Pārppār tavarē cumantār piṇippaṭṭār
Mūttā r-iḷaiyār pacu-p-peṇṭi r-eṉṟivarkaṭkù
Āṟṟa vaḻi-vilaṅki ṉārē piṟappiṭai-p
Pōṟṟi y-eṉa-p-paṭu vār. (Ācārakkōvai, 64.)

(Great are they among human beings who give way to the brahmins, ascetics, load-bearers, the sickly, the elders, the youngsters, cows and women if they meet them on their way).

Here though the word *pacu* which is *aḵṟiṇai* is one of the nouns forming the subject, yet the predicate eṉa-p-paṭuvār is in *uyartiṇai.*

Note 2.—This sūtra also suggests that the demonstrative pronoun which refers to *uyartiṇai* and *aḵṟiṇai* nouns mentioned before may, in many places, be *aḵṟiṇai* one and in some places *uyartiṇai.*

(1) Ex. Vaṭuka r-aruvāḷar vāṉ-karu nāṭar
Cuṭu-kāṭu pēy-erumai y-eṉṟ*ivai* y-āṟum
Kuṟu-kā r-aṟivutai y-ār.

(Wise persons do not approach these six:—vaṭukar (Telugu people), aruvāḷar (a Tamil tribe) karunāṭar (Canarese people), cremation ground, goblins and buffaloes).

Here the word *ivai* which is *aḵṟiṇai* refers to *vaṭukar, aruvāḷar, vāṉ-karu-nāṭar, cuṭu-kāṭŭ, pēy* and *erumai* of which *cuṭu-kāṭu* and *erumai* are *aḵṟiṇai,* and *vaṭukar, aruvāḷar* etc. are *uyartiṇai.*

(2) Ex. Pārppā r-aṟavōr pacu-p-pat tiṉi-p-peṇṭir
Mūttōr kuḻavi y-eṉum *ivarai*-k kai-viṭṭŭ.
(Cilap. Vañciṉa-mālai).

(Having deserted brahmins, righteous persons, cows, married women, old persons and children).

Here the word *ivarai* refers to *pārppār, aṟavōr, pattiṉi-p-peṇṭir, mūttōr* which are *uyartiṇai* and *pacu* and *kuḻavi* which are *aḵṟiṇai.*

Note 3.—The word *'pala-vayiṉ-āṉum'* in the sūtra modifies the predicate *aḵṟiṇai-muṭipiṉa,* in the meaning given above. The same is the opinion of Cēṉāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār. Iḷampūraṇar, on the other hand takes it as an adjunct to the subject *eṇṇu-t-tiṇai-viravu-p-peyar.* Hence he says that the predicate is *aḵṟiṇai* when the subject is, in most cases, made up of *uyartiṇai* and *aḵṟiṇai* nouns and in a few cases made up of *uyartiṇai* nouns alone. The example which he gives for the latter case is:—

Tuṭiyaṉ pāṇaṉ paṟaiyaṉ kaṭampaṉ-eṉṟŭ
I-n-nāṉ k-allatŭ kuṭi-y-u m-illai. (Puṟa. 335)

Here the *aḵṟiṇai* noun *nāṉkŭ* refers to *uyartiṇai* nouns *tuṭiyaṉ*, *pāṇaṉ*, *paṟaiyaṉ* and *kaṭampaṉ*, each of which refers to a low caste among Dravidians of Ancient India. Cēṉāvaraiyar is of opinion that Iḷampūraṇar's example is not happy since the *aḵṟiṇai* word *nāṉkŭ* was used in consideration of the *aḵṟiṇai* noun *kuṭi* which follows it.

Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar takes the word *pala-vayiṉ-āṉum* as an adjunct to both the subject and the predicate. Since his purpose is reached by taking it as the adjunct to the predicate alone, the opinion held by Cēṉāvaraiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār seems to be the correct one.

52. வினைவேறு படூஉம் பலபொரு ளொருசொல்
வினைவேறு படாஅப் பலபொரு ளொருசொலென்று
ஆயிரு வகைய பலபொரு ளொருசொல்.
Viṉai-vēṟu paṭūum pala-poru ḷ-oru-col
Viṉai-vēṟu paṭāa-p pala-poru ḷ-oru-col-eṉṟŭ
Ā-y-iru vakaiya pala-poru ḷ-oru-col.

Pala-poruḷ-oru-col or words having different meanings are of two kinds:—(1) those which take different verbs after them and (2) those which take the same verb after them.

Ex. Mā pūttatŭ.
(The mango tree put forth flowers.)
Mā ōṭiṟṟŭ.
(Horse ran.)
Mā niṉṟatŭ.
(Mango tree stood or Horse stood.)

Note.—If the verb is such that can be used with all such words, it is not possible for us to determine the particular meaning in which it is used.

53. அவற்றுள்,
வினைவேறு படூஉம் பலபொரு ளொருசொல்
வேறுபடு வினையினு மினத்தினுஞ் சார்பினும்
தேறத் தோன்றும் பொருடெரி நிலையே.
Avaṟṟuḷ,
Viṉai-vēṟu paṭūum pala-poru ḷ-oru-col
Vēṟu-paṭu viṉaiyiṉu m-iṉaittiṉuñ cārpiṉum
Tēṟa-t tōṉṟum poruṭeri nilaiyē.

Of them the meaning of *viṉai-vēṟu-paṭūum-pala-poruḷ-oru-col* is clearly determined by *vēṟu-paṭu-viṉai* or distinguishing

verbs, *iṉam* or the words of its class used along with it or *cārpu* or context.

(1) Ex. Mā pūttatū.

The word *mā* which means mango tree, horse, beetle, goddess Lakṣmī etc., denotes in this example the mango tree on account of its association with the verb *pūttatū* which means 'put forth flowers.' It is only the mango tree that can put forth flowers.

(2) Ex. Mā-v-um marutam-um ōṅkiṉa.

The word *mā* here cannot but refer to the mango tree since it is connected with the word *marutam* which denotes a kind of tree by the copula '*um*'.

(3) Ex. Mā-maṟutta malar-mārpiṉ (Puṟa. 7).

(By having wide chest (which enables) the goddess Lakṣmī to forsake others).

That the word *mā* here refers to Lakṣmī is learnt from *cārpu* or context.

Note 1.—The word *viṉai* in the sūtra refers to not only the verbs that stand as predicates, but also to nouns that stand as such.

Ex. I-m-mā vayiram. (This mango tree is of strong-fibre.)

Note 2.—The word *cārpu* in the sūtra which means context will do; the mention of *vēṟupaṭu-viṉai* and *iṉam* have been added in the sūtra only for the sake of clearness.

54. ஒன்றுவினை மருங்கி னொன்றித் தோன்றும்
வினைவேறு படாஅப் பலபொரு ளொருசொல்
நினையுங் காலைக் கிளந்தாங் கியலும்.
Oṉṟu-viṉai maruṅki ṉ-oṉṟi-t tōṉṟum
Viṉai-vēṟu paṭāa-p pala-poru ḷ-oru-col
Niṉaiyuṅ kālai-k kiḷant-āṅ k-iyalum.

Words having different meanings should be clearly mentioned with proper adjuncts to enable the reader to understand its exact meaning, if they are followed by non-distinguishing verbs.

Ex. Mā-maram vīḻntatū.
(The tree *mā* fell down.)
Mā-vilaṅkū vīḻntatū.
(The animal *mā* fell down.)

Note 1.—Iḷampūraṇar, Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār take the first line in this sūtra (*i.e.*) *oṉṟu-viṉai maruṅki ṉ-oṉṟit-*

tōṉṟum as a separate sūtra and the other two lines as one sūtra. Iḷampūraṇar's meaning for the former is that words having different meanings cannot definitely denote one object if they are followed by non-distinguishing verbs. For example if one says *'mā vīḻntatù* which means *mā* fell, the hearer cannot understand whether the speaker intends by the word *mā*, the tree *mā*, the beast *mā*, the beetle *mā* or the goddess Lakṣmī. If we take this interpretation, it is evident that there is no need for this sūtra.

Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar on the other hand, says that this sūtra means that, if words having different meanings are followed by non-distinguishing verbs they, in association with certain other factors, denote specific objects. For instance if one says *'mā vīḻntatù'*, the hearer may understand what the word *mā* denotes if he takes into consideration the place and the time of stating that sentence. If so, it is evident that, since this idea is conveyed by the word *cārpù* in the previous sūtra, this sūtra is not necessary. Teyvaccilaiyār interprets this sūtra more or less in the same way as Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar. The only point of difference between them is that, according to the former the word *'piṟa-collotù'* is understood before the word *'oṉṟi'* and according to the latter *'kālam iṭam mutaliyavaṟṟotù'* is understood before it.

According to Iḷampūraṇar *'oṉṟi-t-tōṉṟum'* means 'appear without being distinguished' and according to the other two it means 'exist distinguished by being associated with other words or the time and place of speaking. All the three take *'tōṉṟum'* to be a finite verb. Cēṉāvaraiyar on the contrary takes it to be a relative present participle qualifying the word *'viṉai-vēṟu-paṭāa-p-pala-poruḷ-oru-col'* in the next line.

The meaning given to the second and the third lines by Iḷampūraṇar, Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār is the same as that given by Cēṉāvaraiyar for all the three lines.

From the foregoing reasons it may be evident that Cēṉāvaraiyar's view that the three lines should be taken as one sūtra is sound.

55. குறித்தோன் கூற்றங் தெரித்துமொழி கிளவி.
Kuṟittōṉ kūṟṟan terittu-moḻi kiḷavi.

The idea of the speaker or writer should be definitely expressed.

Note 1.—*'Kuṟittōṉ kūṟṟam'* is the subject in the sūtra; the predicate is *ātal-vēṇṭum*, which is understood; and *'terittu-moḻi-*

kiḷavi' is the subjective compliment of the predicate and it may be taken as a *viṉai-t-tokai* formed of the words *terittu-moḻinta* and *kiḷavi.*

Note 2.—Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar have given the above interpretation to the sūtra. But Iḷampūraṇar seems to take *kūṟṟam* to mean 'idea', while Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar take it to mean 'difference'. Besides *'kūṟṟam'* seems to be in the nominative case according to Iḷampūraṇar, while it is, in the opinion of the other two, objective case governing *kuṟittōṉ.* And according to them both *kuṟittōṉ* seems to be the subject and *terittu-moḻi* the predicate. In that case *terittu-moḻi* should be considered the contracted form of *terittu-moḻika,* which is rare and the word *kiḷavi* means words.

Note 3.—Teyvaccilaiyār takes *terittumoḻi-kiḷavi* as the subject and *kuṟittōṉ-kūṟṟam* as logical predicate and *kūṟṟam* to mean 'intention not expressed'. He adds that *'um'* and *'ām'* are understood in the sūtra. The example he gives is 'Cēval-aṅkoṭiyōṉ kāppa' (may the cēvalbannered protect) (*Kuṟuntokai,* 1.) where, he says, the word *cēval*-which is applied to male horse, cock etc., here means cock since the author wants to describe the God *Murukaṉ* who is cock-bannered. But it seems to me that it is the context that determines that the word *cēval* refers to cock. Hence this example may come under the sūtra 53. Iḷampūraṇar's interpretation seems to be the best if we consider why this sūtra is placed after the previous three sūtras.

56. குடிமை யாண்மை யிளமை மூப்பே
அடிமை வன்மை விருந்தே குழுவே
பெண்மை யரசே மகவே குழவி
தன்மை திரிபெய ருறுப்பின் கிளவி
காதல் சிறப்பே செறற்சொல் விறற்சொலென்று
ஆவறு மூன்று முளப்படத் தொகைஇ
அன்ன பிறவு மவற்றொடு சிவணி
முன்னத்தி னுணருங் கிளவி யெல்லாம்
உயர்திணை மருங்கி னிலையின வாயினும்
அஃறிணை மருங்கிற் கிளந்தாங் கியலும்.
Kuṭimai y-āṇmai y-iḷamai mūppē
Aṭimai vaṉmai viruntē kuḻuvē
Peṇmai y-aracē makavē kuḻavi
Taṉmai tiri-peya r-uṟuppiṉ kiḷavi
Kātal ciṟappē ceṟaṟ-col viṟaṟ-col-eṉṟu

Ā-v-aṟu mūṉṟu m-uḷappaṭa-t tokaii
Aṉṉa piṟavu m-avaṟṟoṭù civaṇi
Muṉṉatti ṉ-uṇaruṅ kiḷavi y-ellām
Uyar-tiṇai maruṅki ṉilaiyiṉa v-āyiṉum
Aḵṟiṇai maruṅkiṟ kiḷantāṅ k-iyalum.

The eighteen words *kuṭimai* (status of a family, family), *āṇmai* (manliness, man), *iḷamai* (youth, young man or woman), *mūppù* (old age, old person), *aṭimai* (slavery, slave), *vaṉmai* (strength, strong ally), *viruntù* (feast, guest), *kuḻūu* (collection, crowd), *peṇmai* (feminine quality, woman), *aracù* (kingship, king), *makavu* (son-hood, daughter-hood, son, daughter), *kuḻavi* (childhood, child), *taṉmai-tiri-peyar* (noun denoting the change of quality), *uṟuppiṉ-kiḷavi* (words pertaining to organs like *kuruṭù* blindness, blind person), *muṭam* (lameness, lame person etc.), *kātaṟ-col* (terms of endearment), *ciṟappu-c-col* (terms of honour), *ceṟaṟ-col* (terms of hatred, anger etc.) *viṟaṟ-col* (terms of valour) and similar ones take *aḵṟiṇai* verbs even when they denote *uyartiṇai* objects.

Note 1.—The particle '*um*' in the word *nilaiyiṉa-v-āyiṉum* suggests that the above words are *aḵṟiṇai* when they denote abstract qualities and that they are *uyartiṇai* when they denote the objects having those qualities.

Note 2.—Cēṉāvaraiyar says that the words *kuṭimai, āṇmai, iḷamai, mūppù, aṭimai, vaṉmai, peṇmai, uṟuppiṉ-kiḷavi, ciṟappu-c-col, viṟaṟ-col* are only *aḵṟiṇai* and can denote *uyartiṇai* only when they are *ākupeyar*. *Ākupeyar* is the name given to a noun which means in a sentence an object related its ordinary meaning in the figure metonomy or synecdoche. *Ākupeyar* has its place only when the meaning of a word does not suit with the predicate which follows it. Before the predicate is used, it is not right to say that a word denotes something connected with its original meaning. Hence Cēṉāvaraiyar's view is not correct.

Note 3.—The need for this sūtra is this:—The words *kuṭimai, āṇmai* etc., are a*ḵṟiṇai* in form but denote *uyartiṇai* objects in certain cases. In such cases the sūtra:—

Viṉaiyiṟ ṟōṉṟum pāl-aṟi kiḷaviyum
Peyariṟ ṟōṉṟum pāl-aṟi kiḷaviyum
Mayaṅkal kūṭā tam-mara piṉavē. (Tol. Col. 11.)

demands that *uyartiṇai* verbs should be used. But this sūtra says that *aḵṟiṇai* verbs also may be used.

57. கால முலக முயிரே யுடம்பே
பால்வரை தெய்வம் வினையே பூதம்
ஞாயிறு திங்கள் சொல்லென வரூஉம்
ஆயீ ரைந்தொடு பிறவு மன்ன
ஆவயின் வரூஉங் கிளவி யெல்லாம்
பால்பிரிந் திசையா வுயர்திணை மேன.

Kāla m-ulaka m-uyirē y-uṭampē
Pāl-varai teyvam viṉaiyē pūtam
Ñāyiṟù tiṅkaḷ col-l-eṉa varūum
Ā-y-ī r-aintoṭù piṟavu m-aṉṉa
Ā-vayiṉ varūuṅ kiḷavi y-ellām
Pāl-pirin t-icaiyā v-uyar-tiṇai mēṉa.

The ten words *kālam* (god of time), *ulakam* (world), *uyir* (soul), *uṭampù* (body), *pāl-varai-teyvam* (Supreme God), *viṉai* (fate), *pūtam* (elements:—earth, water, light, air, space), *ñāyiṟù* (sun), *tiṅkaḷ* (moon), *col* (Goddess Sarasvatī) and similar ones do not take *uyartiṇai* verbs (i.e., *āṇpāl*, *peṇpāl* or *palarpāl* verbs) after them but take only *aḥṟiṇai* verbs.

Ex. Ulakam pacittatù.
(The world suffered from hunger.)
Uyir ceṉṟatù.
(Soul departed.)
Ñāyiṟù paṭṭatù.
(Sun set.)
Tiṅkaḷ utittatù.
(Moon rose.) etc.

Note 1.—The word *kālam* is the *tat-sama* of the Sanskrit word *kāla* which means *yama*, the God of death; *ulakam* is the *tadbhava* of *lōka* which meens people; *uyir* and *uṭampù* respectively denote here the soul and the body of human beings. According to Teyvaccilaiyār *col* means Vēda; but Vēda is not *uyartiṇai*; hence as is thought by Iḷampūraṇar and others it means only *Sarasvatī*.

Note 2.—The need for this sūtra is this :—In the previous sūtra it is said that the words *kuṭimai*, *āṇmai* etc., which sometimes denote *uyartiṇai* objects and sometimes *aḥṟiṇai* qualities, may take *aḥṟiṇai* verbs even when they denote *uyartiṇai* objects. The following sūtra '*Niṉṟāṅ kicaitta l-ivaṇi-yal p-iṉṟē*' suggests that they may also take *uyartiṇai* verbs as '*aṭimai vantāṉ*' without any change in the form of the words *aṭimai* etc. But the

[1]तैमिरिकस्तिमिरप्रभावेन स्वहस्तधृतधान्या[2]दिभाजनान्तरे केशादि....[3] परिवर्तमानं पश्यति । तदपसरणेच्छया पुनः पुनस्तस्मिन् भाजने विपरीतातिदेशकरणकृच्छ्रमाप्नुवन्तं विदित्वा तैमिरिकः किमयं करोतीति तत्समीपमुपसृत्य तत्केशदेशे समर्पितलोचनोऽपि न तान् केशाकारानुपलभते । नापि तत्केशाधिकरणकान् भावाभावान् केशाकेशनीलादिविशेषान् कल्पयति । यदा पुनस्तैमिरिकः स्वाभिप्रायमतैमिरिकाय प्रकाशयति केशान् पश्यामीति । तदा तद्विकल्पापसरणेच्छया तैमिरिकोपलब्धानुरोधेन प्रतिषेधपरं वचनमाह नात्र केशाः सन्तीति । न तु वक्तास्य तदपवादको भवति ॥

तच्च केशानां तत्त्वं यदतैमिरिकः पश्यति नान्यत् । एवमविद्यातिमिरोपघातादतत्त्वदृशो यदुपलभन्ते स्कन्धधात्वायतनादीनां स्वरूपम् । तदेषां सांवृतं रूपम् । तानेव स्कन्धादीन् येन स्वभावेन निरस्ताविद्यावासना भगवन्तो बुद्धाः पश्यन्ति अतैमिरिकदृष्टकेशन्यायेन । तदेषां परमार्थसत्यम् ॥

(110,12) ननु यद्येवंविधः स्वभावो नैव दृश्यते, कथमतस्ते पश्यन्ति । सत्यम् । अपि तु ते पश्यन्त्यदर्शनन्यायेनेत्युच्यते[4]। यथोक्तमार्यसत्यद्वयावतारे[5] । यदि हि देवपुत्र परमार्थतः परमार्थसत्यं कायवाङ्मनसां विषयतामुपगच्छेत् । न तत्परमार्थसत्यमिति संज्ञां (संख्यां) गच्छेत् । संवृतिसत्यमेव तद्भवेत् । अपि तु देवपुत्र परमार्थतः परमार्थसत्यं सर्वव्यवहारसमतिक्रान्तं निर्विशेषमसमुत्पन्नमनिरुद्धमभिधेयाभिधानज्ञेयज्ञानविगतं यावत्सर्वाकारवरोपेतसर्व[6]ज्ञत्वज्ञानविषय[7]समतिक्रान्तं देवपुत्र परमार्थसत्यम् । कथमिव नाभिलप्यते परमार्थसत्यमिति ।

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1. Compare this paragraph with बो० प० p. 364 (L.V.P.).

2. Tib. bse-ru = धान्य ?

3. Tib. htshegs.

4. *See* म० वृ० p. 373, l. 5.

5. Cited in बो० प० p. 366, ll. 10-16. An extract from the Sūtra is cited in म० वृ० p. 374, 5 to explain that the तत्त्व is अननार्थ. The word परमार्थतः wanting in बो० प०

6. बो० प०: ज्ञज्ञान०

7. *Ibid* : विषयभावस०

सर्वो हि धर्मो मृषामोषधर्मा च । परमार्थसत्यं हि देवपुत्र देशयितुमशक्यम् । तत्कस्य हेतोः । येन देशितं यद्देशितं यस्मै देशितम् । ते सर्वे हि परमार्थतोऽनुत्पन्नाः । अनुत्पन्नैर्धर्मैरनुत्पन्नान् धर्मान् भाषितुमशक्यमिति विस्तरः ॥

(111,11) [1]अतस्तद्विषया भावाभावस्वभावपरभावसत्यासत्यशाश्वतोच्छेदनित्यानित्यसुखदुःखशुच्यशुच्यात्मानात्मशून्याशून्यलक्षणलक्ष्यैकत्वानेकत्वोत्पादनिरोधादिविशेषास्तत्त्वस्य न संभवन्ति । तत्स्वरूपानुपलम्भात् । तस्मादेवं तत्त्वचिन्तायामार्या एव प्रमाणं नानार्याः ॥

(112,1) यदि लोकबाधां विवक्षुणा तत्त्वविचारे लोकदृष्टिरपि प्रमाणत्वेनोपगम्यते । तथा सति

लोकः प्रमाणं यदि, तत्त्वदर्शी
लोकोऽत आर्येण परेण कोऽर्थः ।
आर्यस्य मार्गेण किमस्ति कार्यं
जडः प्रमाणं न हि युज्यतेऽपि ॥ ३० ॥

लोकः[2] प्रमाणत्वेनाभ्युपगम्यते । स एव तत्त्वदर्शनायावश्यमविद्याविहीनोऽभ्युपगन्तव्यः । कस्मात् । न हि जडः प्रमाणं युज्यते । यस्य यद्विषयाज्ञानं न स तत्र प्रमाणं दृश्यते यथा अनर्घरत्नपरीक्षायां तदज्ञानाम् । चक्षुरादिभिरेव तत्त्वनिर्णयात् आर्यमार्गावगमाय शीलश्रुतिचिन्ताभावनादिप्रयासो निष्फलो[3] भवेत् । न हि तदेवम् ॥ तस्मात्

(112,18) लोकः प्रमाणं न हि सर्वथाऽता
लोकस्य नो तत्त्वदशासु बाधा ।

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1. *Ibid* : p. 566, 17 (L.V.P.).
2. यदीत्यादिः
3. Dr. Poussin compares here with a verse cited in बो० प० p. 375, 1 :

इन्द्रियैरुपलब्धं यत्तत्तत्त्वेन भवेद्यदि ।
जातास्तत्त्वविदो बालास्तत्त्वज्ञानेन किं तदा ॥

यथोक्तादस्मान्नयान्न सर्वथा लोकः प्रमाणं तत्त्वदशासु । नापि लोकस्य बाधा तत्त्वदशासु ॥

(113,2) कथं तर्हि लोकेन बाधा भवति । आह ।

लोकप्रसिद्ध्या यदि लौकिकोऽर्थो
बाध्येत लोकेन भवेद्धि बाधा ॥ ३१ ॥

यथा कश्चिदाह मम वस्त्वपहृतमिति । अन्यस्तं पर्यनुयुनक्ति किं तद्वस्तु इति । घट इति स प्राह । घटो वस्तु न, प्रमेयत्वात्, स्वप्नघटवत्, इति स तं दूषयति । एवमादिविषये लोकप्रसिद्ध्यैव लौकिकार्थबाधने लोकेन बाधा भविष्यति । यदा त्वार्याणां दर्शने स्थित्वा विद्वज्जनं प्रमाणयति, न तदा लोकेन बाधा विद्यते । दिशानया अन्यदपि विदुषा विचारणीयम् ॥

(113,14) एवमभ्युपगम्यापि लोकप्रसिद्ध्या परत उत्पादं लोकबाधा परिहृता । अधुना लोकेऽपि परत उत्पादाभावेन तद्दृष्टौ स्थित्वापि परत उत्पादं प्रतिसिषाधयिषोर्न लोकबाधास्तीति प्रदर्शनायाह ।

लोको यतो वक्ति च बीजमात्र-
मुप्त्वा मयोत्पादित एष सूनुः ।
वृक्षोऽपि विन्यस्त इति ह्यवैति
जनिः परस्मान्न च तेन लोके ॥ ३२ ॥

पुरुषे[1]न्द्रियेणाभिव्यक्तं कंचिदुपदर्शयन् वक्ति, पुत्रोऽयं मयोत्पादित इति । नायं तथाविधः स्वकायान्निश्चार्य्य तन्मातृकोष्ठे निवेशितः । किं तर्हि । तद्बीजभूतमशुचिमात्रम् । यस्मादयं तद्धेतुं निक्षिप्य[2] स्वपुत्रं निश्चारयति । तस्माद्बीजपुत्रावुभावनन्यावेवेति व्यक्तं लोकतो निर्णीतम् । अन्यत्वे पुद्गलान्तरमिव तमपि नोपदर्शयेत् । एवं बीजवृक्षयोरपि योजनीयम् ॥

(114,15) अत एवं यथोक्तन्याये शाश्वतोच्छेदरहितप्रतीत्यसमुत्पाद-सिद्ध्या गुणं प्रदर्शयितुमाह ।

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1. Tib. phohi-dbaṅ-po = पुरुषेन्द्रिय ?
2. Tib. blugs-nas = निक्षिप्य ?

यस्मादनन्योऽङ्कुर एव बीजा-
द्बीजो निरुद्धः सति नाङ्कुरेऽतः ।
एकत्वमास्ते न यतस्ततोऽपि
बीजोऽङ्कुरेऽस्तीति च कथ्यते न ॥ ३३ ॥

यद्यङ्कुरो बीजादन्य एव । निस्संशयमङ्कुरे विद्यमानेऽपि बीज उच्छिन्नो भवेत् । यस्माद्द्वयोऽस्तीति मृतभूतापि गौर्नानुच्छिन्ना । नापि पृथग्जनोऽस्तीत्यार्या न अनिर्वृताः । अनन्यत्वादङ्कुरस्वात्म्यमिव न बीज उच्छिद्यते । एवमुच्छेदस्तिरस्कृतः । एकत्वाभावाच्च यो बीजः स एव नाङ्कुर इति बीजाविनाशप्रतिषेधाच्छाश्वतोऽपि प्रतिषिद्धः ॥ यथोक्तम् ।

(115,12) बीजस्य सतो यथाऽङ्कुरो न च यो बीजु स चैव अङ्कुरो ।
न च अन्यु ततो न चैव तदेवमनुच्छेद अशाश्वतधर्मता ॥ इति ।

बीजस्य सत इति सद्भूतस्य बीजस्येत्यर्थः । बीजहेतुकस्य चाङ्कुरस्योत्पन्नस्य न बीजादन्यता युक्ता इति चेदाह । न च यो बीजु स चैव अङ्कुरो । कस्मात्पुनः स एव बीजः सोऽङ्कुरो न स्यादत आह । न च अन्यु ततो न चैव तत् । इति ॥ यस्मात्तत्त्वान्यत्वोभयपक्षो न संभवति । तस्मात्तदन्यत्वं तदनन्यत्वं च नोपपद्यते । एवं पक्षद्वयेऽपि प्रतिषिद्धेऽनुच्छेदाशाश्वतधर्मता परिदीपिता भवति ॥

[2] अत्रेदमर्थस्य तत्त्वं वेदितव्यम् । बीजाङ्कुरयोः स्वभावे कस्मिंश्चित् सद्भूते हि तदुभयमेकमन्यदेव वा स्यात् । यदा तयोः स्वभाव एव नास्ति । तदा स्वप्नोपलब्धबीजाङ्कुरवदेकत्वमन्यत्वं वा कुतो भवेत् । इति ॥ अयमेवार्थः प्रतिपादितः[3] ।

संस्कार अविद्यप्रत्ययास्ते संस्कार न सन्ति तत्त्वतः ।
संस्कार अविद्य चैव हि शून्य एते प्रकृतीतिरीहकः ॥ इति ॥

1. ललितविस्तर p. 210, 1 3; cited in म० वृ० p. 26, 18 ; शिक्षास० pp. 238, 10-239,4 (L.V.P.).

2. Cf. बो० प० p. 357, L. 18.

3. ललितवि० p. 210 (176. 1. 13) cited in शिक्षास० p. 239, L. 1 L. V. P.).

शास्त्रेऽप्युक्तम्[1] ।

प्रतीत्य यद्यद्भवति न हि तावत्तदेव तत् ।
न चान्यदपि तत्तस्मान्नोच्छिन्नं नापि शाश्वतम् ॥ इति ॥

(117,3) यथास्वभावेन न किञ्चिदुत्पद्यते इतीदमवश्यमङ्गीकर्तव्यम् । अन्यथा

स्वक्षलणं चेद्भवति प्रतीत्य
तस्यापवादेन च [2]वस्तुनाशात् ।
स्याच्छून्यता वस्तुविनाशहेतु-
र्युक्तं न तद्वस्तु च नास्ति तस्मात् ॥ ३४ ॥

यदि रूपवेदनादीनां भावानां स्वलक्षणं स्वरूपं स्वभावो हेतुप्रत्ययै-रुत्पादितम् । तद्यदायं योगी स्वभावशून्यान् भावान् पश्यन्निस्स्वभावं सर्वधर्मं बुध्यते । तदा यथानियममुत्पन्नस्वभावापवादेन शून्यतां भोत्स्यते । तस्माद्यथा मुद्गरादयो घटादीनां नाशहेतवः । तथा शून्यतापि वस्तुस्वभावापवादहेतुः स्यात् । तत्तु न युक्तम् । तस्माद्भावादीनां स्वलक्षणमुत्पन्नं सर्वदा नाङ्गीकर्तव्यम् ॥ यथोक्तमार्यरत्नकूटसूत्रे ।[3]

(118,2) अपि च काश्यप मध्यमा प्रतिपत् धर्माणां भूतप्रत्यवेक्षा । यन्न शून्यतया धर्मान् शून्यान् करोति । [अपि तु] धर्मा एव शून्याः । यन्नानिमित्तेन धर्माननिमित्तान् करोति । [अपि तु] धर्मा एवानिमित्ताः । यन्नाप्रणिहितेन धर्मानप्रणिहितान् करोति । [अपि तु] धर्मा एवाप्रणिहिताः । यन्नाभिसंस्कारेण धर्माननभिसंस्कारान् करोति । [अपि तु] धर्मा एवानभिसंस्काराः । यन्नाजातेन धर्मानजातान् करोति । [अपि तु] धर्मा एवाजाताः । यन्नानुत्पन्नेन धर्माननुत्पन्नान् करोति । [अपि तु] धर्मा एवानुत्पन्नाः । इति विस्तरः ॥

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1. म० शास्त्र XVIII. 10.
2. Tib. dṅos-po=अर्थ, वस्तु, भाव etc.
3. Partly cited in म० वृ० p. 248, l. 4 (L. V. P.)

(118,13) ये तु [1]परतन्त्रस्वभावमङ्गीकृत्य तत्प्रतीत्य शून्यतां ग्राह्यग्राहकरहितलक्षणामनित्यतादिवत्तत्त्वान्यत्वेनानभिलाप्यां मन्यन्ते । तेषां दर्शने शून्यतयैव सर्वे धर्माः शून्याः न तु स्वभावेन इति स्यात् ॥ यथोक्तं चतुश्शतके[2] ।

नाशून्यं शून्यवद्दृष्टं निर्वाणं मे भवत्विति ॥
मिथ्यादृष्टेर्न निर्वाणं वर्णयन्ति तथागताः ॥ इति ॥

शास्त्रेऽप्युक्तम् । [3]

शून्यतासर्वदृष्टीनां प्रोक्ता निःसरणं जिनैः ।
येषां तु शून्यतादृष्टिस्तानसाध्यान् बभाषिरे ॥ इति ॥

(119,10) अत्राह । परमार्थत उत्पादाभावेन स्वतः परतश्चोत्पादः कामं प्रतिषिध्यताम् । रूपवेदनादीनि यानि प्रत्यक्षानूमानाभ्यामुपलब्धानि । तेषां स्वभावस्तु अवश्यं परत उत्पद्यते । अथैवं नेष्यते । कथं सत्यद्वयम् उच्यते । एकमेव सत्यं स्यात् ॥ तस्मात्परत उत्पादो भवत्येव ॥

(119,16) अत्रोच्यते । सत्यमिदम् । परमार्थतः सत्यद्वयं नास्ति । एतद्धि भिक्षवः परमं सत्यमेकं यदुताप्रमोषधर्मनिर्वाणं सर्वसंस्काराश्च मृषामोषधर्माण इत्यागमात्[4] ॥

(120,1) तस्माद्यत्संवृतिसत्यं तस्य परमार्थसत्यावतारोपायत्वात्स्वतः परतश्चोत्पादोऽविचार्य लोकनीत्याङ्गीक्रियते । तथा हि

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1. *See* Vasubandhu's Triṃśakakarikās 21, 22, and sthiramati's bhāṣya thereon (ed. Levi, pp. 39—40).

2. (Harap. Sastri) p. 475. (P. L. Vaidya) VIII. 7. Tib. reads मिथ्यादृष्ट्या··· । But the correct reading is मिथ्यादृष्टेर्न... and not मिथ्यादृष्टेन as is printed in चतुश्शतिका. *See* Candrakīrti's vṛtti on this verse.

3. म० शास्त्र XIII. 8.

4. Cited in म० वृ० p. 41. l. 4: एतद्धि भिक्षवः परमं सत्यं यदुत··· । बो० प० p. 363, l. 1: एकमेव भिक्षवः... ।

भावा यतोऽमी हि विचार्यमाणा-
स्तत्त्वात्मवद्भावत एव नार्वाक् ।
स्थानं लभन्ते च ततो विचारः
कार्यो न लोकव्यवहारसत्ये ॥ ३५ ॥

यस्माद्रूपवेदनादीनामेषां, किं स्वतो जायन्ते किं वा परतो जायन्ते इत्येवमादिविचारे परमार्थतोऽजातानिरुद्धस्वभाववतोऽर्वाक् अन्यथाभागीय-जात्यादिमति न स्थानमस्ति । तस्मात्स्वतः परतश्च इत्येवमादिविचारमनवतार्य लोकतः परिदृश्यमानमस्मिन् सति इदम् उत्पद्यत इत्येतन्मात्रमभ्युपगम्यते पराधीनवृत्त्या ॥ यथोक्तमार्यदेवेन[1] ।

(120,18) नान्यभाषया म्लेच्छः शक्यो ग्राहयितुं यथा ।
न लौकिकमृते लोकः शक्यो ग्राहयितुं तथा ॥ इति ।

शास्त्रेऽप्युक्तम्[2] ।

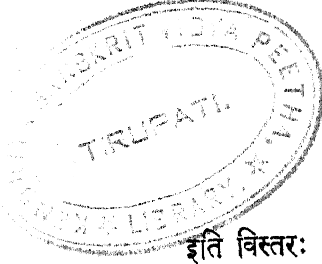
व्यवहारमनाश्रित्य परमार्थो न देश्यते ।
परमार्थमनाश्रित्य निर्वाणं नाधिगम्यते ॥ इति ।

कृते तु विचारे लोकव्यवहारो हीयते । यथोक्तं सूत्रे[3] ।

(121,10) यथ [4]तन्त्रप्रतीत्य दारु च हस्तव्यायामत्रयेऽभिसङ्गति ।
तुणवीणसुघोषकादिभिः शब्दो निश्चरते तदुद्भवः[5] ॥
अथ पण्डितु कश्चिमार्गते कुतोऽयमायाति कुत्र याति वा ।
विदिशो दिशि सर्विमार्गतः शब्दो गमनागमनं न लभते ॥

---

1. चतुश्शतके (P. L. Vaidya) VIII. 19; cited in म० वृ० p. 370 l. 4.
2. म० शास्त्र XXIV. 10. Our reading : (व्यवहारमसेव्यपरमार्थो नावगम्यते) is manifestly erroneous (L. V. P.).
3. ललितवि० p. 177, l. 13 (L. V. P.) cited in शिक्षास० p. 241 l. 1.
4. शिक्षास० : तन्त्रि.
5. *Ibid* : तदुद्भव.



तथ हेतुभिः प्रत्ययेभिश्च सर्वसंस्कारगतं प्रवर्तते ।
योगी पुनर्भूतदर्शनाच्छून्यसंस्कारनिरीह पश्यति ॥
स्कन्धायतनानि धातवः शून्य आध्यात्मिकशून्यबाह्यकाः ।
[1]सत्त्वाविविक्तमनालया धर्माकाशस्वभावलक्षणाः ॥

इति विस्तरः ॥

(122,7) यद्यप्येवं ब्रूयात् । भावाभिनिवेशसर्वस्वसमुच्छेदे भया[2]मिषनिःसारकव्यवहारसत्याभिनिवेशस्य कस्यचिद्वस्त्वात्मनो जन्म भवितव्यं योऽयं संक्लेशव्यवदानहेतुः स्यात् । इति । तथापि तथावादिन उक्तिमात्रमम् अवशिष्यते । कस्मात् ।

युक्त्या यया तत्त्वदशासु जन्म
स्वतः परस्मादुपपद्यते न ।
तयैव युक्त्या व्यवहारतोऽपि
न युज्यते ते जनिरस्ति केन ॥ ३६ ॥

यथा परमार्थदशासु यथोक्तयुक्त्या स्वतः परतश्च जन्म न युक्तम् । तथा व्यवहारेऽपि तयैव [युक्त्या] जन्मानुपपत्त्या भावानां जन्म केन त्वं साधयिष्यसि । तस्मात्सत्यद्वयविभागेऽपि[3] न स्वलक्षणस्य जन्म विद्यते इत्यानिष्य-माणमप्यवश्यमङ्गीकर्तव्यम् । ये हि मन्यन्ते 'न स्वतः' इत्यादिना आर्यनागा-र्जुनपादैः परिकल्पितरूपमेव प्रतिषिद्धम् । न तु परतन्त्ररूपं इति । तेषामपीदं

निर्हेतुकं मतं न सिध्यतीति तथा वादिनस्त एव पर्यनुयोज्याः ॥

(123,8) अथ यदि सत्यद्वयविभागेऽपि न स्वलक्षणस्य जन्म विद्यते । कथमतस्तेषं स्वरूपमुपलभ्यते लोके । उच्यते ।

सामग्र्यपेक्षा अपि नाप्रसिद्धाः
शून्याः पदार्थाः प्रतिमादयो हि ।

1. *Ibid* : सत्त्वात्मविविक्तनालयाः ; Tib. reads = सत्त्वात्मविविक्ता अनालया धर्मलक्षणा आकाशस्वभावाः ॥

2. Tib. bred-śa-thon-pa = भयामिषनिस्सारकः ?

3. Tib. chur-du = विभाग ?

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STUDIES IN THE IMAGERY OF THE RĀMĀYAṆA.

BY

K. A. SUBRAHMANYA IYER, M.A., (LOND.)

Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Lucknow University.

(Continued from page 350 of Vol. IV.)

It is a remarkable fact that in spite of the antiquity and the age long reputation of the Rāmāyaṇa as a 'Kāvya', writers on Alaṅkāraśāstra have not turned to it for preference for their illustrations. Not that references to the Rāmāyaṇa are totally absent in works on Alaṅkāraśāstra. The work is frequently mentioned, together with the Mahābhārata as a source from which a poet might borrow his subject matter. The history of Sanskrit literature also shows to what extent it has been so used by poets right up to modern times. It is, however, true to say in a general manner that the Rāmāyaṇa plays a comparatively small part in the thousands of ślokas which are given as illustrations of the different theories of poetics in the Alaṅkāraśāstra. Whether it be the Alaṅkāra or the Rīti or the Dhvani or the Vakrokti system, it is from the later classical literature, from the works of authors like Kālidāsā, Bhāravi and Māgha that critics primarily draw their examples, and not from the 'Ādikāvya'.

It is not that the Rāmāyaṇa cannot furnish illustrations of the Alaṅkāras. The best proof of it is that the commentators do occasionally point out different Alaṅkāras in the verses of the Rāmāyaṇa. But they only point out the well-known ones and do not say anything which has a historical value.

The most recent study of the *form* of the Alaṅkāras from the historical point of view is found in Mr. Diwekar's "Les fleurs de rhetorique dans l' Inde" p. 35-53 (Paris, 1930). The author draws attention to those ornamental devices for which the poet seems to have a preference and those which he holds to be the poet's own invention. Among the former, he mentions the repetition of syllables which from part of different words: वानराणां नराणां च पुरस्यान्तः पुरस्य च ; the repetition of similar sounds in a verse or in a stanza: परिकुपितं पितरं पाति पातीतः;

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the use of rhyme consisting in the repetition of the same word at a definite place in the verse, the use of Arthālaṅkāras like Upamā, Rūpaka, etc. The author is of opinion that we can see in the Rāmāyaṇa the development of the Alaṅkāras, Upameyopamā and Ananvaya. Among the devices which he considers Vālmīki's own invention, Mr. Diwekar mentions the combinations of Śabdālaṅkāras and Arthālaṅkāras, the particular kind of rhyme called Śṛṅkhalāyamaka :

Rāvaṇaṃ bhaja bhartāraṃ bhartāraṃ sarvarakṣasām. And even the use of such expressions as (1) the repetition of the word 'क्व' in order to indicate difference between two things (2) नैतच्चित्रम् .

It must be said in regard to the above that it is possible to establish preference by mere counting, whereas one feels a certain diffidence when it comes to attributing to the poet the invention of particular devices. Form is something which is meant to be the same in all writers. A good deal of the work of commentators consists in pointing out the same forms in the Alaṅkāras of the different writers. Poetic theory also assumes that the form of imagery is the same in the case of all writers. Indeed, poets are expected to conform themselves to the definition of the forms given in the Alaṅkāraśāstra. If one analyses the Alaṅkāras of the Rāmāyaṇa one is likely to come across practically all the Alaṅkāras which have been defined and analysed in the Śāstra. Some may, of course, be found more frequently used than others, but that is due to the inherent nature of the Alaṅkāras themselves. In these circumstances, to say about a particular Alaṅkāra that it is the invention of Vālmīki requires a good knowledge of contemporary and antecedent literature. The most that one can perhaps say is that the Rāmāyaṇa is the earliest known work in which a particular Alaṅkāra occurs and I take it that this is what Mr. Diwekar means when he calls a particular Alaṅkāra an invention of Vālmīki.

Things are slightly different when it comes to the *contents* of an Alaṅkāra. Here it is that even poetic theory and ancient tradition expect a poet to show his originality and power of invention. Also, the contents of an Alaṅkāra can, in some cases, come only out of individual minds, specially gifted minds. When Kālidāsa says : मणौ वज्रसमुत्कीर्णे सूत्रस्येवास्ति मे गतिः, one feels that not everybody could think of such a comparison. It does

not require a genius to invent the particular form of Alaṅkāra called Upamā. Perhaps it would be difficult for most of us to speak for half an hour continuously without introducing Upamā into our speech. Such Upamā would perhaps not be poetic, but to say of an Upamā that it is poetic or not poetic is to make a distinction in contents and not in form.

When one feels diffidence in attributing a particular form of Alaṅkāra to the inventive power of Vālmīki, what to say of such expressions as the repetition of क, and the use of नैतच्चित्रम् ? I feel that these have always been part of the everyday speech of the people and do not depend upon a genius for their existence.

As was said before, Mr. Diwekar's study is an attempt to determine the part which the Rāmāyaṇa has played in the evolution of the forms of Sanskrit imagery. The series of articles of which this is the last, has been a study of the contents of the imagery of the Rāmāyaṇa. In the previous articles, an attempt was made to determine the particular occasions on which images appear in abundance and the particular objects which are brought in to describe particular things. In the present article, I wish to do no more than make a few observations on the relation between content and form in the imagery of the Rāmāyaṇa.

It is not always possible to establish a relation of cause and effect between form and image. One can, however, establish certain associations, certain contents which always appear together with certain forms.

Mr. Diwekar has already pointed out the occurrence of continued metaphors in the Rāmāyaṇa (p. 48). He has, however, said nothing about their contents. To me, they seem worthy of observation. A continued metaphor is a comparison involving complete identification between two things and their parts. The standard of comparison must, therefore, be something complex, something having parts. Certain complex things have therefore become fixed in the Rāmāyaṇa and, as will be shown, persist in the later literature also.

It is but natural that the immense ocean, with its ever surging waves and the inexhaustible life within it, should occur to the poet when anything complex had to be described. Thus the grief of Daśaratha at the departure of Rāma to the forest is compared to the ocean. Once the identification between the ocean and grief was made, it had to be followed up, to be justi-

fied so to speak and the result is that we get a series of identifications of the parts of both. Daśaratha declares to Kausalyā that it is impossible for him to cross the ocean of grief. This ocean has sighs for waves and whirlpools; it is muddy with the current of tears; its fishes are the throwing about of arms in despair; its roar is weeping; its weeds are dishevelled hair; its mare (*Vaḍvā*) is Kaikeyī; it is the result of Daśaratha's tears; the words of the Kubjā (Mantharā) are its crocodiles and its coasts are extensive, as it would last as long or Rāma is banished.[1] The simple identificatian of grief and ocean is common enough. Even the English expression "plunged in grief" is a reminder that grief can be thought of as a collection of water. What is noteworthy in the above example is the attempt to push the identification to its logical conclusion, even at the risk of seeming artificial. The ocean appears again and again in such complex metaphors. Thus, Śūrpaṇakhā asks Rāvaṇa "Why do you not protect me when I am plunged in the ocean of grief, inhabited by crocodiles in the form of chagrin and waves in the form of trembling"?[2]. On another occasion, it is the sky which is identified with the ocean. We are told that Hanumān flew across the sky which was a veritable ocean. The moon in the sky corresponds to the lotus; the sun to Kāraṇḍava; the stars Tiṣya and Śravaṇa to Kādamba birds; clouds to weeds; the star Punarvasu to big fish; Lohitāṅga to crocodiles and Airāvata to big islands[3]. The

1. श्वसितोर्मिमहावर्तो बाष्पवेगजलाविलः ।
बाहुविक्षेपमीनोऽसौ विक्रन्दितमहास्वनः ॥
प्रकीर्णकेशशैवालः कैकेयीवडवामुखः ।
ममाश्रुवेगप्रभवः कुब्जावाक्यमहाग्रहः ॥
वरवेलो नृशंसाया रामप्रव्राजनायतः ।
यस्मिन् बत निमग्नोऽहं कौसल्ये राघवं विना ॥ R. II. 59. 28-31.

2. विषादनक्राध्युषिते परित्रासोर्मिमालिनि ।
किं मां न त्रायसे मग्नां विपुले शोकसागरे ॥ R. III. 21-12.

3. सचन्द्रकुमुदं रम्यं सार्ककारण्डवं शुभम् ।
तिष्यश्रवणकादम्बमभ्रशैवालशाद्वलम् ॥
पुनर्वसुमहामीनं लोहिता ग्महाग्रहम् ।
ऐरावतमहाद्वीपं स्वातीहंसविलासितम् ॥
वातसङ्घातजालोर्मि चन्द्रांशुशिशिरांशुमत् ।
हनुमानपरिश्रान्तः पुप्लुव गगनार्णवम् ॥ R. V. 57. 2-4.

sky, like the ocean, strikes one by its complexity and it is, therefore, perfectly intelligible that the two are identified as wholes as well as in their parts. An equally intelligible identification is that of the army of the gods with the ocean. In this identification, the weapons Śakti and Tomara are the fishes, scattered arms are the weeds, horses are frogs, elephants are turtles, Rudra and Āditya are the big crocodiles; the Maruts and the Vasus are the snakes; chariots, horses and elephants are its water currents and infantry, the sandy shores[1]. The above examples are sufficient to prove the frequency with which the ocean appears in continued metaphors in the Rāmāyaṇa. Nor is it confined to the Rāmāyaṇa. It occurs in the later literature also. For instance, Aśvaghoṣa says in his 'Saundarānanda' that the Buddha crossed the ocean of evils in which Upādhi was the water, Ādhi, the water-animals, anger, intoxication and fear, the waves.[2] Again, he says in his 'Buddhacarita' that the Buddha will make the world cross the ocean of sorrow by means of the boat of knowledge. In this ocean, the diseases are the foam, oldage, the waves, and death the current.[3]

Sometimes it is the river which takes the place of the ocean. We are told that the battle ground is like a river. The dead heroes are the banks; broken arms, the great trees; streams of blood, the water; death, the ocean to which it leads; liver and spleen, the mud; scattered entrails, the weeds; broken limbs and heads, the fish; the vultures, swans; the herons, the Sārasa birds and human fat, the foam.[4] Following Vālmīki, Aśvaghoṣa says

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1. शक्तितोमरमीनं च विनिकीर्णास्त्रशैवलम् ।
गजकच्छपसम्बाधमश्वमण्डूकसंकुलम् ॥
रुद्रादित्यमहाग्राहं मरुद्वसुमहोरगम् ।
रथाश्वगजतोयौघं पदातिपुलिनं महत् ॥
अनेन हि समासाद्य देवानां बलसागरम् ॥ R. VI. 7. 20.

2. स हि दोषसागरमगाधमुपाधिजलमाधिजन्तुकम् ।
क्रोधमदभयतरङ्गचलं प्रततार लोकमपि चाप्यतारयत् ॥ Saun. III. 14.

3. दुःखार्णवाद्व्याधिविकीर्णफेनाज्जरातरङ्गान्मरणोग्रवेगात् ।
उत्तारयिष्यत्ययमुह्यमानमार्तं जगज्ज्ञानमहाप्लवेन ॥
Buddhacarita. I. 75.

4. हतवीरौघवप्रां तु भग्नायुधमहाद्रुमाम् ।
शोणितौघमहातोयां यमसागरगामिनीम् ॥
यकृत्प्लीहमहापङ्कां विनिकीर्णान्त्रशैवलाम् ।

in his Buddhacarita that the thirsty world will drink from the river of Dharma, having the current of wisdom, banks in the form of firm conduct, cool through Samādhi and having Cakravākas in the form of vows.[1]

It is not only collections of water like the ocean and the river which appear in continued metaphors. Sometimes, it is fire which takes their place. The simple metaphor 'fire of sorrow' is almost a common place in Sanskrit literature and there is, therefore, nothing surprising in its occurring in continued metaphors. Thus Kausalyā says that the fire of sorrow, fanned by the separation of Rāma, fed by the fuel of lamentation, having offerings in the form of weeping and smoke in the form of anxiety and tears etc., will consume her in the absence of Rāma[2]. As in the Rāmāyaṇa, so in later literature also, fire continues to appear in continued metaphors. Thus, in the Buddhacarita, we are told that Rāhula, son of the Buddha, being burnt by the fire of sorrow, to which separation from the Buddha added fresh fuel, whose smoke was sighs and flame, despair, goes to see him outside and inside the palace.[3] In another

---

भिन्नकायशिरोमीनामङ्गावयवशाद्वलाम् ॥
गृध्रहंसवराकीर्णां कङ्कसारससेविताम् ।
मेदःफेनसमाकीर्णामावर्तस्वननिःस्वनाम् ॥
तां कापुरुषदुस्तारां युद्धभूमिमयीं नदीम् ।
नदीमिव घनापाये हंससारससेविताम् ॥ R. VI. 58. 29-32.

1. प्रज्ञाम्बुवेगां स्थिरशीलवप्रां
समाधिशीतां व्रतचक्रवाकाम् ।
अस्योत्तमां धर्मनदीं प्रवृत्तां
तृष्णार्दितः पास्यति जीवलोकः ॥ B. C. I. 76.

2. अयं तु मामात्मभवस्तवादर्शनमारुतः ।
विलापदुःखसमिधो रुदिताश्रुहुताहुतिः ॥
चिन्ताबाष्पमहाधूमस्तवागमनचिन्तजः ।
कर्शयित्वाधिकं पुत्र निःश्वासायाससंभवः ॥
त्वया विहीनामिह मां शोकाग्निरतुलो महान् ।
प्रधक्ष्यति यथा कक्ष्यं चित्रभानुर्हिमात्यये ॥ R. II. 24-6-7-8.

3. शोकाग्निना त्वद्विरहेन्धनेन
निःश्वासधूमेन तमःशिखेन ।
त्वद्दर्शनायर्च्छति दह्यमानः
सोऽन्तःपुरं चैव पुरं च कृत्स्नम् ॥ B. C. IX. 29.

passage, Rāma himself is compared to fire. In this state arrows are his sparks, and bow and dagger, his fu el.[1]

Another object which plays an important part in continued metaphors in the Rāmāyaṇa as well as in later literature is the snake. Kumbhakarṇa asks Rāvaṇa: "O king! who brought you the snake in the form of Sītā, whose chest is its coils, anxiety concerning whom is its poison, whose smile is its fangs and whose fine fingers are its fine heads?"[2] Vālmīki seems to have a preference for the five-headed snake on such occasions. Lakṣmaṇa, in his anger, looked like a five-headed snake whith arrows for tongue, its string for coils and his own lustre for poison.[3] Similarly in the Saundarānanda, Nanda says to the Buddha: "I have been bitten in the heart by the snake in the form of love, having evil for hood, destruction for glance, blunder for fangs and ignorance for poison; give me, therefore, an antedote, O great physician![4]

The army itself is a sufficiently complex thing to appear in such metaphors. The clouds, we are told, with banners in the shape of lightning and emitting a roar in the form of thunderbolt like an army of monkeys ready for battle.[5]

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1. शरार्चिषमनाधृष्यं चापखड्गेन्धनं रणे ।
रामाग्निं सहसा दीप्तं न प्रवेष्टुं त्वमर्हसि ॥ R. III. 37. 15.

2. वृतो हि बाह्वन्तरभोगराशि-
श्चिन्ताविषः सस्मिततीक्ष्णदंष्ट्रः ।
पञ्चाङ्गुलीपञ्चशिरोऽतिकायः
सीतामहाहिस्तव केन राजन् ॥ R. VI. 14. 2.

3. बाणशल्यस्फुरज्जिह्वः सायकासनभोगवान् ।
स्वतेजोविषसंभूतः पञ्चास्य इव पन्नगः ॥ R. IV 31. 30.

4. अनर्थभोगेन विघातदृष्टिना
प्रमाददंष्ट्रेण तमोविषाग्निना ।
अहं हि दष्टो हृदि मन्मथाग्निना
विधत्स्व तस्मादगदं महाभिषक् ॥ Saund. X. 55

5. तडित्पताकाभिरलंकृताना-
मुदीर्णगम्भीरमहारवाणाम् ।
विभान्ति रूपाणि बलाहकानां
रणोत्सुकानामिव वानराणाम् ॥ R. IV. 28. 31

The above examples do not exhaust the list of objects which appear in complex metaphors. In the beautiful description of the rainy season occurring in the Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa, we are told there is music in the forests. In this music, the buzzing of bees is the Vīṇā; time is marked by the cries of monkeys and the roar of clouds corresponds to the sound of Mṛdaṅga.[1] Music appears again in the indignant speech of Rāvaṇa when he hears that Rāma has come to Laṅkā to fight him. He says: "I shall descend on the stage of the battlefield and play my lute in the form of my bow, with the bow in the form of arrows."[2] In the description of the rainy season referred to above, the sky is identified with a lover. In this identification, gentle breeze forms the sigh, the reddish hue of sunset corresponds to sandal paste and the pale clouds to the pale face of the lover.[3] In an equally beautiful description of the autumn occurring also in the Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa, the night is identified with a woman. The moon is her face, the stars are the eyes, and the moonlight her clothes.[4] More prosaic is an identification of Rāma with a tree, the flowers and fruits being Sītā and the branches being Sugrīva, Jāmbavān, Kumuda, and Nala.[5] More striking perhaps is the comparison between mountains and Brahmacārins: the clouds are the Kṛṣṇājina, being dark in colour; streams are the sacred thread,

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1. षट्पादतन्त्रीमधुराभिधानं प्लवङ्गमोदीरितकण्ठतालम् ।
आविष्कृतं मेघमृदङ्गनादैर्वनेषु संगीतमिव प्रवृत्तम् ॥ R. IV 28 36.

2. मम चापमयीं वीणां शरकोणैः प्रवादिताम् ।
ज्याशब्दतुमुलां घोरामार्तगीतमहास्वनाम् ॥
नाराचतलसन्नादां नदीमहितवादिनाम् ।
अवगाह्य महारङ्गं वादयिष्याम्यहं रणे ॥ R. VI. 24. 42-43

3. मन्दमारुतनिःश्वासं सन्ध्याचन्दनरञ्जितम् ।
आपाण्डुजलदं भाति कामातुरमिवाम्बरम् । R. IV. 28. 6.

4. रात्रिः शशाङ्कोदितसौम्यवक्त्रा
तारागणोन्मीलितचारुनेत्रा ।
ज्योत्स्नांशुकप्रावरणा विभाति
नारीव शुक्लांशुकसंवृताङ्गी ॥ R. IV. 30. 46.

5. रामवृक्षं रणे हन्मि सीतापुष्पफलप्रदम् ।
प्रशाखा यस्य सुग्रीवो जाम्बवान् कुमुदो नलः ॥ R. VI. 100. 4.

being bright and flowing; the caves being filled with air by the wind corresponds to the taking in of breath or Prāṇāyāma [1].

The above examples are sufficient to show the kind of objects that figure in continued metaphors and the historical interest which they have in view of their persistence in later times. The association of form and contents which we find in the above example is the most striking of all in the Rāmāyaṇa.

Summing up the results of this study, we have found that imagery comes forth more spontaneously and in greater abundance in descriptions of nature and in speeches made by the different characters when they are under the stress of some emotion. The objects to which persons, or ideas, or situations are compared are chiefly drawn from nature. Though Vālmīki has incorporated into his work much popular imagery which was due to the inventive faculty of no particular writer, there is also in the imagery of the Rāmāyaṇa, much that could have been the creation of individual minds. The contents of Vālmīki's imagery persist to a very great extent in later works, whose works can therefore be better understood with reference to the Rāmāyaṇa. To determine the exact relation between Vālmīki and the later writers is a separate study which can be undertaken now that Vālmīki's imagery has been analysed.

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1. मेघकृष्णाजिनधरा धारायज्ञोपवीतिनः ।
मारुतापूरितगुहाः प्राधीता इव पर्वताः ॥ R. IV. 28. 10.

NOTES ON SOME DRAVIDIC PLANT-NAMES

BY

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.,

Maharaja's College, Ernakulam.

In his Forlong Lectures for 1929 (printed in BSOS, Vol. V, Part IV), Prof. Jules Bloch adverting to the lists given by Caldwell, Gundert and Kittel, of possible Dravidian words borrowed by Sanskrit, observes very justly that "these lists are at once too large and too narrow. Too large because the majority of cases brought forward even in Kittel's Preface to his *Kannaḍa Dictionary*, do not stand discussion, when they are worth it. Too narrow, because Kanara and Tamil do not suffice to identify a Dravidian form, and the other languages belonging to the same family ought to be taken into account. A second point is the difficulty of distinguishing which language is the borrower, which the lender. Moreover, there may be intermediaries between both or a common origin to elements they both have." Some of the limitations pointed out by Prof. Bloch always confront the student of Dravidic etymologies who attempts with the help of the data are available for him, to reconstruct the base-forms of Dravidian words. But these limitations become perplexing in those cases where we have to consider if a given set of inter-allied Dravidic forms bearing striking structural and semantic parallelisms to words of other linguistic systems of India, are original in Dravidian or not. The problem of the lexicological connections of Dravidian words with foreign forms is extremely intricate; for, we find that as even the earliest extant Tamil literary texts had begun to suffer in a greater or lesser degree the influence of Sanskrit vocabulary, there is considerable difficulty in tracing the native or foreign character of certain words. Moreover, complications are introduced by the 'Austric' problem also.

The only tests that might in such instances enable us in envisage possibilities are the following:—

(*a*) Whether the forms in question are ancient and widespread among the different dialects of Dravidian, and (if so) whether their relationship to one another is based on normal and regular sound-changes, and then whether the source-form (as reconstructed) could be resolved, according to Dravidic principles of word-formation, in such a way that the radical portions could be shown to be cognates of elementary Dravidic bases;

(*b*) Whether the conclusion formulated as a result of the above test is to any extent confirmed by the analysis of the etymology of the foreign form or forms which show parallelism in structure and meaning to the Dravidian words. If these latter and the Dravidian words are at the same time found to be native in the respective language-families to which they belong, the parallelisms may be fortuitous.

The scheme as formulated above seems indeed very simple and straight, but the actual difficulties encountered in the application of these tests are very many indeed:—

(*i*) The lesser dialects of Dravidian especially of central and north India, having for centuries been under the influence of powerful language-systems have in many instances replaced the native Dravidian forms by borrowed foreign words. The native words presumably once current in the past are no longer recoverable in view of the entire absence in these dialects of literary texts or of other linguistic data relating to the past condition of these speeches.

(*ii*) The lesser dialects of north and central India, besides, have not yet been as intensively investigated as they will have to be, if rare nuggets of indigenous native forms probably preserved in sub-dialects and local speech-varieties have to be unearthed.

(*iii*) The application of the Dravidic principles of word-formation, while undoubtedly of help to us in studying the etymologies of a good portion of our word-stock, fails us completely in the case of a certain number of what we consider to be original Dravidian forms.

(*iv*) Indo-Āryan etymological studies have also proved within recent years to be more complicated than we hitherto believed them to be. Barring the large number of undoubtedly genuine Aryan words, there does exist a portion of Indo-Aryan vocabulary, which recent scholarship has shown to be explicable only

along lines different from what Sanskrit lexicologers with an extra-strong Indo-European bias used to follow rather naively (as we can now see) in the last century.

The discussion of the few following Dravidic plant-names would be illustrative of some of these difficulties confronting the Dravidist.

I TAMIL "ARTOCARPUS."

Tam. *palā, palavu, pilā*[1] (commonly 'Artocarpus integrifolia' or jack).

Mal: *pilā-vu, plāvu* (jack-tree).
Tuḷu : *pela, pila* (jack-tree), *peja* (Artocarpus pubescens).
Kannaḍa: *halase, haḷasa.*
Tulugu: *panasa.*
Kūvi: *panha.*

No connected forms are available in Gōṇḍi, Kurukh or Brāhūi, so far as we can ascertain from the existing lists.

Forms of Tamil, Tuḷu and Malayāḷam.

Tamil *palā* and *palav* with the meaning 'jack-tree' occur in the most ancient Tamil texts.

cf. Puṟanāṉūṟu, verse 109, l. 5: தீஞ்சுளைப் பலவின் பழமூழ்க் கும்மே (the sweet-pulped jack-fruit will ripen); verse 129, l. 4: திஞ்சுளைப் பலவின் மாமலைக் கிழவ (he of the great mountain where the sweet-fruited jack grows).

Aiṅguṟunūṟu, verse 214, l. 1: பலவின் கொழுந்துணர் நறும் பழம் (the sweet ripe fruit of the jack-tree).

Patiṟṟuppattu, verse 61, l. 1 : பலாஅம் பழுத்த பசும்புண் ணரியல் (honey exuding from an over-ripe jack-fruit, red like a stained wound).

Śilappadigāram, Kāḍugāṇkādai, line 84: வாழையுங் கமுகுந் தாழ்குலைத் தெங்கு மாவும் பலாவு . . .

The fruit of the common jack-tree being a very popular delicacy in the southern and the western parts of the Madras

1. Another Tamil word for "jack-tree" is *pāgal*. Cf. Maṇimēgalai, Kolaikkaḷakkādai, *kōḷi-p-pāgal*. *Pāgal* in modern parlance commonly denotes the creeper 'Momordica charantia.' Possibly both meanings are from the base *pāg-* (connected with *pāy-* 'to be spread' which means 'to spread regularly,' 'to be rooted,' to be extended') *pāgal* with the probable meaning 'a climbing plant' occurs in verse 16 of Puṟanāṉūṟu also.

Presidency[1] the terms *palā, palavu* usually denote this variety of 'Artocarpus'; but other fruit-trees of a similar kind also appear to have been named '*palā*' with qualifying words to indicate the particular species or variety.

cf. Tamil *īra-ppalā, ātti-ppalā.*

In Malayāḷam, *kaṭa-ppilāvu* or *vilātti-ppilāvu* denotes 'Artocarpus pubescens' known otherwise as *āññili* (Tam. *ayini*).

Tamil literary *palā* and *palavu*, Tamil colloquial *pilā* and Malayāḷam *pilāvu* are directly connected with Tuḷu *pela, peja* and Koḍagu *pela.*

Tuḷu *pela* means 'Artocarpus integrifolia' or the common jack, while *peja* denotes the wild variety 'Artocarpus pubescens.' Koḍagu *pela* denotes the common jack-fruit only.

The *-e-*, *-i-* of the radical vowel in the Tuḷu and the Koḍagu forms and the *-i-* of the Tamil colloquial and the Malayaḷam forms appear to be the result of the loss of accent in the first syallable owing to the extra accent thrown on the second syllable with the long vowel.

This long vowel in the second syllable found in all forms except Tamil *palavu* is peculiar.

In this connection, the following analogies may be compared:—

	naṟā, naṟ-ai (honey)	—	*naṟavu*
	nilā (moonlight)	—	*nilavu*
	kaḷā (wortleberry)	—	*kaḷavu*
	viḷā (wood-apple)	—	*viḷavu*
Mal.	*cuṟā, ciṟā* (shark)	—	*cuṟavu*

cf., for the peculiar final long vowel, Tamil *kaḍā* (male) Mal. *kīḍa* also. The final long vowel should be regarded as original in these forms and *-v-* of the alternative words as the dorsal glide, as *-vu*-forms do not generally give rise to *-ā* finally. This is probably confirmed by the fact that in *some* of *these* instances with final *-vu* we find the immediately preceding vowel

1. The three favourite fruits (முப்பழம்) of the Tamil country. famed from of old, are those of the plantain, mango and the jack. Of these, the fruit of the jack-tree which grows in abundance on the west coast and in the riparian regions of the Tamilnād, had been in ancient times probably the most popular in view of the qualifying epithets like *tīñ-juḷai* (sweet-pulped), etc. occurring in the classical texts.

to be alternatively long:—*naṟāvu* (honey) *nilāvu* (moonlight), *cuṟāvu* (shark), etc. The long *-ā-* is certainly peculiar in the above words. Among these, *viḷā* (wood-apple) and *kaḷā* (wortle-berry) may be foreign; but the other words appear to be native Dravidian. *-ā-* never appears as a formative suffix in Tamil; can it possibly represent the root *ā* (to become) compounded with *naṟ-* (to be pleasant, sweet), *nil-* (to be steady), *cuṟ-* (to turn round), etc. ?

Thus the original among these forms would appear to be *palā* which, as we should except, is attested in the most ancient Tamil texts, significantly enough, by the side of *palav-* in the oblique cases.

Kannaḍa and Telugu forms.

Kannaḍa *halasa* and *haḷisa* are supposed to be *tadbhavas* from Sanskrit *panasa*. Kannaḍa *haḷasina haṇṇu* denotes the fruit of the common jack or 'Artocarpus integrifolia.'

Telugu *panasa* is applied to both the common jack-fruit and to the bread-fruit, as in Sanskrit.

So far as Kūi-Kūvi is concerned, Winfield does not give any forms at all, but Schulze in his vocabulary of Kūvi words gives the form *panha* as equivalent to 'jack-fruit' and *buddha panaha* for 'pine-apple.' These forms *panha* and *panaha* are apparently connected with *panasa*, the change of *-s-* to *-h-* being common in Kūvi.

Sanskrit panasa.

Now, the Sanskrit forms *palasa*, *panasa*, are applied to the 'jack-fruit' as well as to the 'bread-fruit', more often to the latter than to the former. The terms occur only in Epic Sanskrit. Besides the two meanings given above, the lexicographers equate *panasa* with 'a thorn' also (cf. Kannada *pane* 'a pointed tooth'). The lexicographers give a third form फलस with the meaning 'jack-fruit' or 'bread-fruit.'

Are these forms native Indo-Āryan ? Fick in his *Vergleichendes Worterbuch der Indo-Germanischen Sprachen* attempts, though with hesitation (p. 109 Vol. III), to connect Skt. *panasa* with the Indo-European roots *pā* 'to feed', *pa* 'to drink' and suggests a hypothetical base *pan* from which *panasa* on the one hand, and Sanskrit *pata* with the meaning 'fat' may have been derived. He also mentions Greek *panios* (fulness) as being connected with the Sanskrit word. These derivations and cognates are extremely doubtful.

Monier Williams would consider *panasa* to be original, and पलस and फलस to be its variants. He too is not certain about its derivation but he hesitatingly suggests the root *pan* 'to be worthy of admiration', as being the possible source from which पनस was derived.

The Pāli Text Society Dictionary confronts *panasa* with Latin *penus* and Lithuanian *pēnas* 'fodder', on the supposition that the term may be native Indo-Āryan.

The derivation of *panasa* seems on the whole to be extremely uncertain.

The Sanskrit terms occur only in late Sanskrit; and denoting as they do the names of tropical flora, one should be very cautious, in the absence of definite and unequivocal evidence about the native Indo-Āryan character of the words, in ruling out the possibility of their being borrowings. The significations of tropical fruits should certainly have been evolved in India, and possibly the forms themselves were adopted from non-Āryan speeches.

Sanskrit palasa, panasa *and the Dravidian forms.*

Kittel (p. XXIII of his Preface to Kannaḍa *Dictionary*) makes the following observations: "Gundert thinks that the Skt. words are related to Dr. *pala* 'much' 'many'". His leading idea is not easily conceivable. Does he think of the numerousness of fruits on a jack-tree? May it be suggested that perhaps Dr. (Kannaḍa only) *pane* 'a pointed tooth' is at the root of the terms, referring to the jack-fruit as covered with nail-like points (*cf.* Skt. *Kaṇṭaka-phala*).

One point may be preliminarily noted. The group *palā*, *palavu*, *pela* of Tamil, Tuḷu, Malayāḷam and Koḍagu are different from Kannaḍa *halasa* in as much as the final *-sa* here is clearly extra-Dravidian. There is a little doubt that the Kannaḍa, Telugu and Kūvi forms are adaptations from Indo-Āryan and therefore, *not directly* connected with the forms of Tamil, Malayāḷam, Tuḷu and Koḍagu.

This of course does not necessarily preclude the possibility of *palā* (according to Gundert) or *pane* (according to Kittel) being at the back of I. A. *panasa;* these views will have to be discussed separately.

Kittel's suggestion about Kannaḍa *pane* (pointed tooth) as being at the root of Sanskrit *panasa* is probably far-fetched

especially because *pane* with this meaning exists *only* in Kannaḍa. Tamil and Malayāḷam *pana* means 'palmyra', and as we shall see below, this word offers difficulties of its own, in the matter of etymological derivation.

Gundert's suggestion of the Dravidian origin of *pilāvu* as indicative of the 'numerousness' of the fruits on a jack-tree, is, like many another similar suggestion of his, too naive to command scientific approval.

The question of the Dravidian origin of Indo-Āryan *palasa*, *panasa* from *pala* etc., can be seriously raised only when we can be sure of the native character of Dravidian *palā* etc., for, if the Dravidian words themselves are borrowings from a third source, which in the circumstances may be Kolarian-Austric, the possibility of the Indo-Āryan words being also loans from that third source will have to be considered.

The position, therefore, seems to be this:—

(*a*) It is possible that the Indo-Āryan words have been borrowed from or influenced by non-Āryan speeches.

(*b*) So long as the Dravidian forms are not conclusively proved to be native in this family, nothing could be said about the possible influence exercised by them on the formation of the Indo-Āryan forms.

Are the Dravidian forms borrowings?

If the jack-fruit on account of its delicacy was considered as the fruit *par excellence*, the word for 'fruit' may very well have been applied to this variety; but the probable proto-base for 'fruit' differs from *palā* structurally to a certain extent. The Dravidian words for 'fruit' are :—

Tamil :	*paḻ-am*,	
Kannaḍa :	*paḻa, paṇṇu, haṇṇu.*	
Tel :	*paṇḍu.*	
Tuḷu :	*parndu*—	-ṟ- of Tuḷu corresponds to -ḻ- of Tamil- Kannaḍa (as in *bārœ, vāḻai*, etc.).
Kūvi :	*paṇḍu.*	
Gōṇḍi :	*kaiā*—but *cf. paṇḍ*—(to become ripe).	
Kurukh :	*pañj-kā* (fruits)—*cf. pān-* (to ripen) and *kañj-ka* (fruits).	
Brāhūi :	? *bēr* (plum)?	

Now, some of these words may remind us of IA *phala* on the one hand, and of a number of Austric forms on the other; but Professor Jules Bloch (*BSOS*, Vol. XXVI) has already adverted to the almost insuperable difficulty of giving any satisfactory explanation regarding the possibility of mutual relationship among these forms.

So far as the Dravidian forms for 'fruit' are concerned, they appear to be very ancient. Gōṇḍi *kaiā*, Kurukh *kañjka* appear to be derived from a base connected with south Dravidian *kāy* (fruit), etc. The other forms are all inter-related. The character and origin of the Tamil-Mal-Kannaḍa sound -*ḻ*- being uncertain and elusive, it is difficult to reconstruct the older base; probably it was *paḍ*-, on the analogy of Tamil *ēḻ*—Tel. *ēḍu* (seven) Tamil *kōḻi*—Tel. *kōḍi* (fowl), Tamil *kaḻugu*—Tel. *kaḍugu* (to wash), etc.

However this may be, what we have to note here specially is that Dravidian *palā* (jack-fruit) does not contain the sound -*ḻ*- or -*ḍ*-, and that, therefore, it may not be related to the Dravidian base meaning 'fruit'.

The Austric forms (as given by Prof. Rivet in his *Oceanien et Sumerien* p. 39) are the following: *pala*, *palo*, *pelo*, *plo*, *blo*, *bla*, etc. All of them show medially the lateral -*l*-; so also does Indo-Āryan *phala*. But whether, indeed, Dravidian *palā* is related to either of these sets and what exactly may have been the course or direction of relationship, are problems that form part of the wider question of vast language-movements in South Asia in an ancient past of which we have at present only hazy notions.

(a) The forms *palā pela*, etc. of Tamil, Mal., Tuḷu and Koḍagu are very ancient and do not appear to be borrowings from Skt. *panasa*, etc. which occur only in epic Sanskrit.

(b) The forms of Kannaḍa, Tel., Kūi and Kūvi are, on the contrary, directly connected with these Skt. forms.

(c) The question of the relationship of Dr. *palā*, etc. to IA *phal* on the one hand and to the Austric forms on the other, remains purely hypothetical in the present state of our knowledge.

II Tamil pan-ai, 'Borassus flabelliformis'.

Tam. *pan-ai*, *peṇṇ-ai* (palmyra).
Mal. *pana* (palmyra).
Tuḷu *pane*, *paṇe* (palmyra), *pan-oli* (leaf of palmyra).

No other Dravidian dialects show related words, and it is remarkable that these dialects have other later forms[1] (Tamil *tāḷi*, Tuḷu *taræ*, etc.) to denote 'Borassus flabelliformis'.

Peṉai and *peṇṇai* both appear in the ancient Tamil texts. The term *paṉai* is used commonly in the ancient classical texts as a measure of height or of girth and it is also referred to as supplying banners to ancient chiefs. These usages may be compared to similar ones in Mahābhārata and other Sanskrit poems. We find in the Tamil texts numerous other references to the use of the parts of the familiar Borassus tree,—*cf.* Puṟa-nāṉūṟu, Verse 295, Patiṟṟup-pattu, Verses 40, 58, 66, 67.

Malayāḷam *pana* commonly signifies the 'Borassus' tree but other palms are also denoted by specialised terms: *āna-ppana* (Corypha), *īram-bana* (Caryota urens), *Kūṭappana* (another species of Corypha).

Kannaḍa and Telugu do not show *pana* or any connected forms denoting 'palm' but Kannaḍa has a word *pane* which means 'pointed tooth' with which we have already compared one of the meanings of Sanskrit *panasa*, viz. 'a thorn'.

Gundert connects the word with *pani* (drop, cold, dew) and naively explains *pana* (palmyra) as the "oozing tree" referring thereby to the country liquor which is extracted from it. The derivation of *pana* directly from *pani* is impossible in Dravidian, as *pani* itself appears to be a characteristically formed Dravidian derivative with final *-i*. If *pani* and *pana* are connected, they may be so basically, but of this base, we do not and cannot, so far as we can see, have a clear idea.

Is Kannaḍa *pane* with the meaning 'pointed tooth' native Dravidian? (Late Sanskrit *panasa* has the meaning 'thorn' according to the lexicologers. Are these terms related? If so, how?) Has Kannaḍa *pane* any relationship to Tamil *paṇai*?[2]

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1. *Vide* my discussion of Dravidian *tāḷ-* in *JBORS*, June 1931. Kurukh *pun-man* 'a species of plum tree' and *panēra* 'a kind of plum with a small stone' appear to be forms connected with Kurukh *pānnā* 'to ripen' (of fruits).

2. Prof. Przyluski has pointed out, in one of his most interesting and suggestive papers, the existence of a set of "Austric" forms: *panah*,

III *Dr. Brinjal, 'Solanum melongena'.*

Tam.: *vaḻuduṇai, vaḻudaṉai, vaḻudalai.*
Mal: *vaḻudana, vaḻidina.*
Kannaḍa: *badane, badaṇi.*
Tuḷu[1] *badane.*
Koḍagu: *baldane.*
Telugu: *vaṅkāya.*

[Gōṇḍi *sēpa* and Kūi *sēja* appear to be different.]

The Tamil words are not found in the ancient Śaṅgam texts. In modern parlance, the term *kattari-kkāy* is used in Tamil, though Malayāḷam employs only *vaḻudana, vaḻudina* to denote the 'egg-plant.' The presence of this form in Malayāḷam from very early times shows that it is not a comparatively new word in Malayāḷam or Tamil.

Kannaḍa and Tuḷu *badane, badaṇe*[1] are *supposed* to be adaptations from late Sanskrit or Prākrit. The Telugu form appears to be very closely related to Sanskrit *vaṅga* or to a M I A form connected with modern Hindu *baiṅgan,* Bengali *began,* Marāṭhi *baingāṇi* (brinjal-coloured).

Structurally Tamil *vaḻudane* and *vaḻudalai* do not appear to be native.

The suggestion that the native base *vaḻ-* (to thrive, grow) may be the source of these forms is of no value; for, whatever part the native base *vaḻ-* and *vaḻuṇd-* may have played in the introduction of *-ḻ-* in *vaḻudalai,* it should at most be restricted to phonetic contamination or semantic confusion, arising from folk-etymology. The uncommon structure of the Tamil words and the wavering character of the sounds in the final syllables point to a foreign origin for these words; the Tamil terms cannot be dissociated in origin from the other Dravidian and Indo-Āryan forms given above.

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pnoh, bana with the meanings 'bow', 'arrow', 'to shoot arrow' etc. In South India, bows and arrows are made of the Borassus or *panai*-tree. Is it possible that there may have been some remote relationship here ? And is Kannaḍa *pane* 'pointed tooth' in any way connected?

1. Tuḷu *kudane, kudaṇe* is the name of another variety of Solanum; it is curious that the difference in structure is denoted by a seeming change in the prefix [*badaṇe* 'brinjal' *kudaṇe* 'solanum pubescens']?

The Indo-Āryan forms of today are all without a medial dental which, excepting Telugu, the Dravidian forms show. Trikāṇḍaśēṣa records late OIA *vātiṅgaṇaḥ* and Medinī has *vātigaḥ*; the Dr. forms with the medial dental appear to be related to these. The question, however, whether Dr. *directly* adapted the words from I A is not an easy one to solve, in view of what is stated below.

The modern Indo-Āryan forms are derivatives of *vāṭiṃgaṇa* (Chatterji's *Origin and Development of the Bengali language*, p. 510); but *vāṭiṃgaṇa* itself is a rare word that cannot easily be explained on an I A basis.

Recently it has been suggested that *vāṭiṃgaṇa* may be related to the Austric compound word (Pre-Āryan and Pre-Dravidian, Introduction, p. XXVIII) formed of *bah* or *buah* (fruit) and *tiong, tiung, ting* (brinjal) of the Semang dialects.

If so, in view of the absence of evidence to show that the Dravidian words were adapted from I A, we cannot rule out the postulate that Tamil *vaḻudunai* or *vaḻudalai* together with Kannaḍa and Tuḷu *badane*, may be directly connected with Austric groups like *bah* and *ting;* while the source of the Telugu word may be the Indo-Āryan *vaṅga.*[1]

The cerebral continuative -*ḻ*- of the Tamil-Malayāḷam forms might have been introduced in the process of adaptation and naturalisation of the foreign form in Tamil.

We would like to emphasise here that, in view of the postulate recently made of direct contact between Dravidian and Austric on the mainland of India, it is quite possible that the forms of Tamil, Kannaḍa and Tuḷu, which (be it noted) reproduce the initial bilabial, the medial dental and the nasal at the end, may have been directly adapted from Austric[2] instead of through the Indo-Āryan *vāṭiṃgaṇa;* but for this no proof is available, even as there is no proof to show that the Dr. words are *directly* related to I A. On the other hand, the structure of the Telugu word indicates that it may have been a direct borrowing from Indo-Āryan.

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1. Amarsimha gives *vārtāki, bhaṇḍāki, vaṅgana* and *vaṅga* as synonyms for the 'egg-plant'. Their derivations are all uncertain.

2. The Indian 'Kolarian' dialects show only I A loans like *bēgan, baigan.*

CONQUESTS OF KULŌTTUṄGA III.

BY

S. R. Balasubrahmanyan, B.A., L.T.
Chidambaram.

I

It is proposed to consider the chief conquests of Kulōttuṅga III and to point out with the help of the historical introductions of the king that there were during his reign *three* distinct Cōḷa campaigns against the Pāṇḍyan kingdom.

The first campaign: An inscription of his 3rd year (165/02 *see* Appendix) contains the usual panegyric without any historical data. The earliest reference *definitely* known to the interference of Kulōttuṅga III in the Pāṇḍyan war of succession seems to be found in the inscription of the 8th year (320th day) of his reign found at Tirumayāṉam (260/25). His inscription at Chidambaram in his 9th year (457/02) gives the following particulars of the campaign in the Pāṇḍyan country. Vikrama-Pāṇḍya applied for help. By the Cōḷa army (that was sent to his help) Vīra-Pāṇḍya's son fell, Ēḷagam fell, the Maṟavā army (of the Pāṇḍya) fell, the Singhalese soldiers entered the sea after their noses had been cut off, Vīra-Pāṇḍya was forced to beat a retreat. Madura and the crown were secured, a pillar of victory was planted; Madura, the crown and the (Pāṇḍya) country were bestowed on the Pāṇḍya who sought his help.[1]

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1. "எழகம்பட மறப்படைபட"—The place of Ēḷagam fell. This is how Hultzch construes it. But in another inscription in another context occurs the expressions மறப்படை and எழகப்படை. Evidently they were sections of armies or commands of the Pāṇḍyan army. Dr. S. K. Ayyangar uses the expression *Māṟa* army (மாற or மாறன்) implying the Pāṇḍya (South India and her Muhammadan Invaders p. 12). The reading is மறப்படை not மாறப்படை or மாறன்படை '*Maṟappaḍai*' may be the army of the *Māṟavas* as explained by Hultzsch.

This may be considered as the first campaign of Kulōttuṅga III; It was evidently to help Vikrama-Pāṇḍya against Vīra-Pāṇḍya in the civil war.[1]

The second campaign: An inscription of the 11th year (and 118th day, 458/02) refers to the return of Vīra-Pāṇḍya and the renewing of the war against Vikrama-Pāṇḍya owing to Vīra-Pāṇḍya's desire to wipe out the disgrace of defeat.[2]

In later inscriptions further particulars are given of this second campaign. The Cōḷa king met Vīra-Pāṇḍya at Neṭṭur. Vīra-Pāṇḍya's crown was secured. His queen was sent to the Cōḷa Royal household (harem?). The defeated Pāṇḍya and Cēra rulers were made to sit at the foot of his throne and acknowledge the Cōḷa supremacy.[3]

There is great difficulty in deciphering this part of the historical introduction. Reference is made to the Pāṇḍya ruler twice in this part of the text. The earlier part has been quoted above. The term 'முடி வழங்கி' would imply that the Vīra-Pāṇḍya was made to acknowledge his supremacy and he was *crowned*. Later on there is reference to the Cōḷa king accepting gifts from (another ?) the Pāṇḍya, who held the title 'Lord of the Solar race'—"பருதிகுல பதியென்னும் திருநாமந்தரித்த பாண்டியற்கு" and his bestowing presents, robes and jewels on the said Pāṇḍya. It is suggested that the Pāṇḍya referred to in the

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1. The Tirukkolambudur inscription (1 of 1899) of the 4th year of the Kulōttunga III refers to all these features of the campaign above referred to. Hence it should have taken place between the 3rd and the 9th year of his reign. We do not know if Dr. S. K. Ayyangar is right when he suggests, in connection with this inscription, that the campaign was conducted by "Kuḷottunga III as *heir-apparent*" (P. 11 of South India.) The absence of the reference to the Madura campaign in inscriptions of this 3rd year (cf. 165/02) and the mention of it in his later records should fix the campaign under discussion *in the reign of Kulōttuṅga* III but it may be as *coregent* with Rājādhi-Rāja II.

2. "மீண்டதற்பின் எடுத்து வந்து பரிபவத்தால் எதிர்த்த வீரபாண்டியனை முடித்தலை கொண்டு".

3. "நெட்டூரில் எதிர்த்த வீரபாண்டியனை முடித்தலை கொண்டு அமர் முடித்து மடக்கொடியை வேளம் ஏற்றி திரு விழந்த தென்னவனும் சேரலனும் வந்திரஞ்ச அரியணையின் கீழிருப்ப அவர்முடிமேல் அடி வைத்துப் படி வழங்கி முடி வழங்கி" (66 of 1892—Text slightly altered. Inscription of the 19th year of Kulōttunga III).

earlier part may be Vīra-Pāṇḍya and that in the latter part Vikrama. It seems likely that Vīra-Pāṇḍya was recognised (and crowned?) as the Madura Viceroy and consequently the cause of Vikrama-Pāṇḍya was abandoned by the Cōḷa king. In the light of this we may infer that Vikrama-Pāṇḍya with his own resources and relying on his own efforts made war and drove out Vīra-Pāṇḍya from Madura. This success of Vikrama-Pāṇḍya may be taken to be reflected in inscriptions 42 and 43 of '06, which refer to the flight of Vīra-Pāṇḍya and his relatives seeking refuge in Travancore in the 16th year of Kulōttuṅga III. In this reconstruction the difficulty is to explain Kulōttuṅga's change of front and the possibility of Vikrama's success by his single-handed efforts. We must leave it to the future for more light on this point. But as a tentative hypothesis it may be mentioned that the object of Kulōttuṅga III was not so much the restoration of Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, as the aggrandisement of his power. The disputed succession at Madura gave him the chance. This hypothesis receives further strengthening by his third campaign which will be discussed later.[1] We shall also point out in the following pages how, in certain points, we render the passage differently.[2]

1. Hultzsch and other later writers have overlooked this difficulty in the interpretation of the text, though literally the translation may be considered correct. His translation runs thus:—"(He) took the crowned head of Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who, after (the Cōḷa king) had returned, started because (he felt his) disgrace and faced (him) at Neṭṭūr. (He) put an end to the war and caused his (*viz.*, the Pāṇḍya's) young wife to enter (his) harem ?. When the Teṉṉavaṉ (*i.e.* the Pāṇḍya king), who had lost his fortune and the Ceralan (*i.e.* the Cēra king) came (to the Cōḷa king) bowed (to him) and sat down at the foot of (his) throne, (he) placed (his) feet on the crown of the former, granted (him) land, granted (him) a crown, and gave the Pāṇḍya permission (to go), and to the Villavaṉ (*i.e.* the Cēra king) who (formerly had) distributed crores (he) bestowed riches (on him) in public and gave (him) to eat from the royal plates.

To the Pāṇḍya who bore the glorious name of 'chief of the family of the Sun' (he) granted great treasures, robes and vessels (set with) brilliant jewels etc."—(S. I. I. III, Part II, Page 218. No. 88).

2. *See also* Dr. S. K. Ayyangar's South India pp. 12 and 13 and Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's The Pandyan Kingdom pp. 134—6 and p. 138.

The third campaign: Let us consider the last campaign of his reign. The historical introduction of two inscriptions (nos. 163 and 166 of the list of inscriptions of the Pudukkottai state) in the 31st and 34th year of Kulōttuṅga's reign respectively contains fuller account of his wars and conquests. Unfortunately, some portions are built in or mutilated, so that a complete copy of the text is hard to get. The text published in this paper is secured by using the above two incomplete records. A summary of the passage in English is also given at the end. If any reliance can be placed on the correctness of the sequence of events in the historical introduction, the following is the order of events:—But it seems probable that the Kāñci campaign might have been later than the 2nd Madura campaign.

(1) First Madura campaign.

(2) Recovery of Kāñci and his wars against the kings of the north—the Veṅgi country.

(3) Second Madura campaign.

(Battle of Neṭṭūr).

(4) Conquest of *Īḷamaṇḍalam* (Ceylon).

(5) Conquest of Koṅgu country (and Magadhai maṇḍalam).

(6) Third Madura campaign.

Vikrama-Pāṇḍya might have tried to regain strength and revive the Pāṇḍyan greatness. Perhaps Vikrama also attempted to throw off the Cōḷa shackles and recover the Pāṇḍya country from Cōḷa control. This led to a great Cōḷa campaign—the third of the reign—described fully and graphically in the two inscriptions of the Pudukkottai state.

Kulōttuṅga captured *Maṭṭiyūr* and Kaḻikkōṭṭai.[1]

The army of Maṟavās and that of Ēḷagam were defeated and captured as prisoners of war.[2]

Then the large Cōḷa army besieged the fortified city of Madura and captured it. The Cōḷa king came round the city and worshipped the presiding deity of the place. Then Kulōt-

1. "மட்டியூரையும் கழிக்கோட்டையும் வளைந்து" We have taken these events as part of the 3rd Madura campaign—Maṭṭiyūr seems to be in the region of the modern Tirumeyyam Taluq of the Pudukkottai State—*Vide* Inscriptions (Text) of the Pudukkottai State Nos. 244 and 361.

2. "மறப்படையுடன் ஏழகப்படை சிறைப்பட".

tuṅga III held a grand Durbar at Madura. The Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam was renamed *Cōḷa-Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam;* The name of Madura was given up. It was renamed (*Muḍittalai-koṇḍa-Cōḷa Puram.* He himself took the title of '*Cēra-Pāṇḍya-Tambirāṉ*'. The term Pāṇḍyan became a thing of the past (பாண்டு or பண்டு—old). To the *Bāṇa* (bard) who sang his praises of the conquest of Madura was given the title of *Pāṇḍya.* A street and festival were instituted in his name; and pillars of victory inscribed with an account of his achievements were planted in all directions. In all later inscriptions the Cōḷa king calls himself "Tribhuvana-cakravartī Tribhuvana Vīra-dēva who took Madura Īḻam, Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya and performed the anointment of hero and victor".

These are the details of the triumph of Kulōttuṅga III celebrated at Madura about the 30th year of his reign. This humiliation should have wrankled in the minds of Jaṭāvaman Kula-śekhara and his more famous successor Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. Viewed in this light, there seems to be some justification for the war of the latter early in his reign (*i.e.* before his third year of accession—322 of 1927-28)—against the Cōḷa king to retrieve the name and fortunes of the Pāṇḍya house.[1]

It is not the insult of Kulōttuṅga's durbar at Madura after the battle of Neṭṭūr but that held after the 3rd campaign with such provocative ostentation that might have caused the Pāṇḍyan war. We do not agree with the interpretation of Dr. S. K. Ayyangar given on page 13 of his book, "Seating himself upon the throne with his queen he placed his feet upon the crowned head of the vanquished Vīra-Pāṇḍya 'which had been cut off on the field of battle' according to the inscription as if to say that that was to be the fate of those who would not acknowledge his authority"—but that of Hultzsch, *viz.*, that Kulōttuṅga placed his foot on Vīra-Pāṇḍya's crown, may be accepted.[2]

The Ceylonese chronicle seems to support the triple campaign of this reign. The ceylonese forces under the orders

1. I have suggested the possibility of a 3rd Madura campaign in my essay on Kopperuñcinga but this hypothesis seems to gain strength by the two Pudukkottai inscriptions mentioned above. I am indebted to the Pudukkottai Durbar for a copy of the Inscriptions.

2. *Vide* Dr. S. K. Ayyangar's South India pp. 13 and 14 and Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri's "The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom" p. 135 and note 5, p. 136, p. 145 and p. 146 and note 1.

of Nissankamalla, the successor of Parākrama Bāhu the Great, are said to have invaded the Pāṇḍya country *thrice* (Mysore Gazetteer, new edition p. 1178, Vol. II, part II).[1]

II

TEXTS OF INSCRIPTIONS

1. 165 of 1902—3rd year—Tirumāṇikuḻi.

புயல் பெருக[2] வளம் பெரு(க்)கப் பொய்யாத நான்மறையின் செயல் வாய்ப்பத் திருமகளும் ஜயமகளும் சிறந்துவாழ வெண்மதி பொற்குடை விளங்க வேல் வேந்தரடி வணங்க மண் மடந்தை மன மகிழ[3] மனுவின் நெறி[4] தழைத்தோங்கச் சக்கரமுஞ் செங்கோலுந் திக்கனைத்துஞ்செல நடக்க[5] கற்பகாலம் புவி காப்ப பொற்பமைந்த முடி சூடிச் செம்பொன் வீரசிம்மாசனத்துப் புவன முழுதுடையாளோடும் வீற்றிருந்தருளிய etc.

2. 457 of 1902—9th year (88th day)—Chidambaram.

Text same as No. 1 up to முடி.

......முடி புனைந்து விக்ரம பாண்டியன் வேண்ட[6] விட்டதண்டால் வீர பாண்டியன் மகன் பட ஏழகம்பட மறப்படை படச் சிங்களப் படை மூக்கறுப்புண்டு அலைகடல் புக வீர பாண்டியனை முதுகிடும் படி தாக்கி மதுரையும் அரசுங் கொண்டு ஜயஸ்தம்பம் நட்டு அம் மதுரையும் நாடும் அடைந்த பாண்டியற் களித்தருளி மெய்ம்மலர்ந்த வீரக்கொடியுடன் தியாகக்கொடி எடுத்துச் செம்பொன் வீரசிம்மா சனத்துப் புவன முழுதுடையாளோடும் வீற்றிருந்தருளிய etc.

3. 458 of 1902—11th year (118th day)—Chidambaram.

......முடி புனைந்து தண்டொன்றால் வீர பாண்டியன் தன் மகனை மூக்கரிந்து கொண்டு விக்ரம பாண்டியற்கு கூடல் மாநகர் குடுத்து

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1. The editor of the new edition of the Mysore Gazetteer has expressed the difficulty in unravelling this mystery of the Pāṇḍyan invasion of the Cōḷa country under Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. He says :—"He (Mar. S. Pāṇḍya) was apparently an ambitious and perhaps even an *unscrupulous* prince, who at an opportune moment turned without any moral rectitude against his own protector........ The actual circumstances which led up to this event still remain to be cleared up." (Mysore Gazetteer, new edition, p. 1185, Vol. II, p. II.) The reconstruction attempted above, if correct, will solve this puzzle and help us to depict the character of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya in a better light.

2. வாய்த்து. 3. மனங்களிப்ப. 4. நீதி. 5. தனித் தனித்துஞ் செல நடக்க. 6. வேண்டி.

மீண்டதற்பின் எடுத்து வந்து பரிபவத்தால் எதிர்த்த வீர பாண்டியனை முடித்தலை கொண்டமர் முடிவில் ஜயஸ்தம்பம் நட்டபின் வாகைப் பெரு வீரக்கொடி தியாகக்கொடி உடன் எடுத்து செம்பொன் வீர சிம்மாசனத்து புவன முழுதுடையாளோடும் வீற்றிருந்தருளிய etc.

4. 66 of 1892—19th year—Srirangam.

Text of this inscription is indicated in the margin in No. 5 —(below)—but ends thus:—

தியாக வீரக் கொடியெடுத்து வாகை வீரக் கழல் கட்டித் திக்கெட்டுமேவல் கேட்ப்ப சக்கரவெற்பில் புகழெழிப்பச் செம்பொன் வீர சிம்மாசனத்துப் புவன முழுதுடையாளோடும் வீற்றிருந்தருளிய etc.

5. Nos. 163 and 166 of the Pudukkottai Inscriptions (probably) in the 31st year and in the 34th year of Kulōttuṅga III found at *Scranur* (Tirumeyyam Taluq) and at *Kudimiyāmali* (also in the same Taluq) respectively:—

புயல் வாழ்த்து[1] மணவாளர்[2] புலி யானை[3]யும் சகரம் செயலணைத்த[4] மநுனூலும் திசை நடப்ப கொற்ற வையும் திருவும்வாழ[5] கோடுங்[6]கலி கெடக் குளிர் வெண்குடை கற்ப காலம்[7] படிக விப்ப கதிரவன் குலமுடி சூடி[8]

எத்தரையும் தொழும் இறைவற் கெதிரம்பலஞ் செம்பொன் மேருத[9] சித்திரைவிழா அமைந்திறை வித்திருக்கோபுரம் செம்பொன் மேய்ந்து அரிப்பிரமர் தொழுரிவையர்க்கு அகிலம் எல்லாம் தொழுது போற்ற திரி புவன விரிவரம்[10] செய்து திருவைய் காசியும் சிறந்த திருவாவணியுந் திசை விளங்கு.........யூர் நிறைந்த செல்வத்துடன் விளங்க நிலவும் திருநாள் கண்டு மன்னுயிரருநளிக்கும் வாநவர் நாயகவாழ [அ]ருளி [அ]மைந்த திருமலைபோல் கோயில் கண்டு தரணி கொள் திருத்தாதைக்கும் இராசராதி (ஜீ?) சுரத்தார்க்கும் காரணனே சிறந்த கோயில் அணிதிகழ் பொன் மேய்ந்தருளி

தனி ஆனை விட்டாறு(ண்)மை செய்து வடமன்னரை(த்) தறை(ப்)படுத்தி முனிவாறி[11] கச்சிபுக்கு முழுதரைசையும்[12] திறை கவித்து[13]

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1. வாய்த்து; 2. வளர; 3. யானை; 4. சக்கரமுஞ்செயல் வாய்த்த; 5. வனுடன் திருமகிழ; 6. கருங்; 7. கத்தால் (?); 8. கவித்து; 9. மேய்ந்து; 10. வீசுவரம்; 11. வாற; 12. முழுதாசையும்; 13. கவர்ந்து.

தாங்களும் போல[1] வடுகை வென்று வேங்கை மண்டலம் தனதாக்கி (க) பொன் மழை பெய் துறங்கை என்னும் பொன் நகர்புக்கு அருள்

தண்டொன்றுல் வழுதி மனதவன்[2] மூக்கரிந்து தமிழ் மதுரை கொண்டு விக்ரமபாண்டியற்குக்கொடுத்து மீண்ட(தற்)பின் பரிபவத்தால் எடுத்துவந்து நெட்டூரில் எதிர்த்த வீரபாண்டியன் முடித்தலை கோண்டவர் முடித்தவனபடைக்கோடியையவனம் ஏற்றி[3] திருவிழுந்த தென்னவனும் சேரலனும்[4] வந்திரஞ்சி (ச)அறியவனயின்[5] கீழிருப்ப அவர் முடிமேல் அடிவைத்துப்படிவழங்கி முடிவழங்கி பாண்டியற்கு விடைகுடுத்து கொடிவழங்கும் வில்லவர்க்குக் கொற்றவர் வேருக[6] திருவழங்கி வீரகேரளன் விரல் தறித்து இவனை கொண்டு வந்தறை (திரைஞ்சி) பாரறியவாழ அருளி[7] பரிசுவந்து அமுது அளித்துப் பதிகுலபதி யென்று திரு நாமந்தரித்த பாண்டியர்க்கு இருநெதியும் பரி(ச்)சட்டமும் இலங்கு மணிக்கலனும் நல்கி

ஈழமண்டலம் எறிந்தருளி ஆழிமண்டலத்தரசு இறை(ரை)ஞ்ச ஊழியர் கெடக்கொங்கும் பாழ்படப்[8] பொருது புக்கு கருவூ(ற)ர்[9] சோழ கேரள னென்று மன்னர் தொழ விசையமாமுடி சூடி வீர முடிபுனையுதர்க்கு. (வி?) ட்டு எழுந்து பன்னதான் வந்துடன் போமலையப்படை[10] விட்ட...பாயப்படையெல்லாம் படப்பொருது காட்டாங்களட்டிக்கோடி . . ழலைகுமடு இட்டிதிது[11] மட்டியூரும் கழிக்கோட்டையும் வளைந்து அறுத்து (க்?) களமாடி நெட்ட வகை குலமாட நெடுங்களிற்றுலமர்ந்......குடியில் கடியாணைப் பொற் படைப்பப்பொடி பொடியாக்கி அடியுண்ட படைத்தகை விறைவருதா எவரிவளையுண்டு பிடியுண்டு புலமாட நெடுங்களிற்றுல் கெட்டு உண்டு பேதைகள் உடன்கேபோக வெண்ணிலக்கொடியடைய வீரர் புண்ணகரில் புக்கழுந்தாக்கிய போர்வயலிருந்ததார்முத்திழந்த...... மழல்[12] மறப்படையுடனே ஏழகப்படை சிறைப்பட்டு விழதடிந்து தாநதை மற சாந்து உணய துரந்து செநகர அழிஞ்ச நறுத்[13] தென் மதுரை புறம் துளைதன்[14] நெடுப்படைக்கடல் வளையப்பெருவழுதியரும்தம் வில......மரேற்ற தாயாரும் பெருசீமையும் பெரு வருதுயர் துணையாக வெறு தரைப்படர் மண்வழங்கிக் கழுதை கொடுழுது புகழ்கதிர் விளையக் கவடி விச்சம் பெவதபதங்கண்டு கெட்டு எபற்... கமிடதிர சோழபாண்டியன் என்று பேர் சற .....தன்படக்கார் வீர

1. போர்; 2. மைந்தனை; 3. கொண்டமர் முடித்து அவர் மடக் கொடியை வேளம் ஏற்றி; 4. கேரளனும்; 5. அரியணையின்; 6. பெரு or பேரு; 7. பாரறியா வாழ்வு அருளி; 8. வாழ் படப்; 9. உள்ளில்; 10. பொராமலையப்படை; 11. This line is obscure; 12. விருதர் மூக்கழிந்து முகமழிய; 13. காஞ்சிதறித்; 14. நினைத்தரு.

ராமுடி புணர்ந்து[1] திருபுவன வீரனெறிருநலம் சோழமுடிசூடி இகல் மாக்கழல் சட்டிப்[2] புகழ் வீரக்கொடி எடுத்துத் தியாகக் கொடி எத்திசையும் ஓட்டி[3]...கலிப்பகை துரக்க மாமதுரையை வலங்கொண்டு திருவாலவாய் உறையும் தென்மலற் கொன்றைவார் சடைச் செழுஞ்சுடரை தொழுதிரஞ்சி[4] ஆங்கவர்க்குப் பூணாரம்[5] அநேக விதங் கொடுத்தருளி ஓங்கிய பேர் ஒலிக்கழல் இறைஞ்ச இந்தி (ர ?) நது பொற்ப...யும் இளற்றின கற்படியும் குடுத்தருளி வண்டறைதார் வழுதியரைக் கொண்ட பாண்டி மண்டலத்தைச் சோழபாண்டியன் மண்டலம் என்று எழுபாருஞ்செல்ல நிறுத்தி மல்ல வைய (வயல் ?) மதுரையையும் மதுரையென்று போரொழித்து சொல்ல முடித்தலை கொண்ட சோழ புரமென்றருளித்தா (மெ ?) மு (ந் ?) த மண்டபத்தில் சேரபாண்டியன் தம்பிரான் என்று பேரெழுதிப் பாண்டியனைப் பாண்டியநேன்றும்[6] பேர் மாறி வர நெடும் படைத்தேன்னலன்[7] கெட மதுரை கொண்ட தோள்வலி பாடிய பாணனைப் பாண்டியன் என்று பரி(ரு)மணிபட்டம் கட்டிச் சூட்டி வெஞ்சிலை வாங்கி வேட்டையா......விளையாடிப்படந்த கய ருடன் பகைபாந்திக்குடந்துறை நீர்படிந்தாடி ஓடைமதிக்களிறேறியாடல்[8] வம்பர் நடவித்தண்டுளவம் மலர் மாலையில் வண்டாற்...... சாளிபாடிய அரன் திருவாலவாயில் அமர்ந்தவர்க்குத் தன் பேரால் சிறந்த பெருந்திரு வீதியும் திருநாளும் கண்டருள உருதருடனே[9] சிலையால் முப்புரம் எரித்த சொக்கற்கு திருப்பவனி கண்டருளி திருவீதியில் சேவித்துத்தென்மதுரை திருவாலவாய்ப்பொன்மலையென்ப பொன் மேய்ந்து திறை கொண்ட புனல் வைய்கைச் சேர[10] பாண்டியன் மண்டலத்திறைகொண்ட பசும் பொன்னும் இறையிலியும் மேயில் ஆடியூர்[11] ஆடும் அம்பலவாணற்குடிவாய்ந்த்திருநடங்கண்டருளுப் பாடக்கால் பைங்கிளிக்கும்......பைம் பொன் மதுரை மதுள் திருவாரூர் வானவற்குந்[12] திரிபுவனீசுவரம் பகுந்தவற்குத் தேன்விரி[13] சடைத்திருவாலவாய் அரனே செழுஞ்சுடற் சூடி குடுத்து அருளமற்தா மறைமுழுதுணர்ந்த வந்தணர்க்கறமேற்றி எழுது என்ற செயத்தம்பம் எத்திசையிலும் நடுவித்து வழுவில் செஞ்செ(ா)ற் குவிக்குன்று பிடங்காக மதுரையடங்கவும் பொற்பத்தவன்[14] அடி நிழற் கீழபைய மிறியஞ்சலெந...ழுதிக்கும்பதி தடையும் தாமரையுங் கோசாணையிமேம்பரியுங்கொடி தெருங்குருசாமும்

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1. புனைந்து; 2. கட்டிப்; 3. நாட்டி; 4. சடைக் கெழு சுடரைக் கொழுதிஞ்சி; 5. புசுர் நாரும்; 6. பாண்டிவனென்றும்; 7. தென்னவன்; 8. க்கு...டமதற்களி நீரறியாடல் ; 9. பொருப்பு நெடுஞ்; 10. சோழ; 11. மெயிற்புலியூர்; 12. ஆனதற்குத்; 13. தென்னவன்; 14. பொறிப்பித்தவன்.

வைகைநாடும்......பழம்ப......இவற்......னுகதியல் திக்கு எட்டும் எல்லை தேட (தொட) மசதகாமேற்பின்புகழ்ப் புலவர்.............

செம்பொன் வீரசிம்மாசனத்து வீற்றிருந்தருளிய கோப்பர கேசரிபற்மரான திரிபுவன சக்கரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீமதுரையும் ஈழமும் கருவூரும் பாண்டியன் முடித்தலையுங்கொண்டு வீராபிஷேகமும் விசையாபிஷேகமும் பண்ணி அருளிய திரிபுவன வீரதேவற்கு யாண்டு 34-வது.

III

A SUMMARY OF THE HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

While the clouds were abundant, and the country prospered; the reign of the commands (authority) of the tiger and that of discus prevailed, the laws of Manu and the sceptre flourished in all directions while the Goddess of Fortune rejoiced to be united with the king, the cruel Kali perished, the cool white parasol overshadowed the earth to the end of aeons, and the king put on the crown of the solar race;

The king covered with gold the *Edir-Ambalam* of the Lord, instituted the *caitrā* festival, built the Gopura and the Tribhuvanaviśvaram for the Goddess, (அரிவையார் ?) instituted the *Vaikāśi* and *Āvaṇi* festivals, and constructed the temple for the Lord resembling the Holy mountain and covered the Rājādīśvaram shrine with gold;

He despatched matchless elephants, performed heroic deeds, prostrated to the ground the kings of the north, entered Kāñcī after his anger had abated and levied tribute from the whole of the northern region (or to his heart's content).

He subdued the warlike *Vadugas*, brought under his sway the *Veṅgi-maṇḍalam*, entered the city called Uṟaṅgai or Tuṟaṅgai (பொன் மழை பெய்துறங்கை), cut off, with the help of his single army, the nose of the son of the Pāṇḍya king, took the Tamil-famed Madura, and gave it to Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, when unable to suffer the disgrace of defeat Vīra-Pāṇḍya came again, and fought at Neṭṭūr, he caused him to *lose his crown* (not cut off his head) after defeat, (Hultzsch has translated this differently) sent the queen (மடக்கொடியை) of the Pāṇḍya king to his royal household (வேளம் harem ?), he was pleased to place his feet on the heads of the kings of the Pāṇḍya and the Cēra

(or Kērala) who sat at the foot of the throne, he gave the Pāṇḍya gifts and the crown (படி and முடி) and told him to go; Then when the Cēra king begged for mercy and made presents to the Cōḷa king, he gave large gifts separately to the Cēra and received the submission of *Vīra-kēralan*. (" He cut off a finger of Vīra-Kērala " does not seem to fit in with the context.)

To the Pāṇḍya who bore the glorious title of (பருதிகுல பதி) Lord of the solar race, he gave great treasures, robes and jewels set with precious stones.

Then after (setting fire to ? and) conquering Ceylon (Īḷa-maṇḍalam) he invaded the Koṅgu country, fought so fiercely that the land suffered misery and its king begged for peace and then he assumed the title of *Karuvūr-Cōḷa-Kēralan* and had himself crowned as victor and hero.

Then he fought successfully against his enemies (we do not know who—the lines are mutilated)—at Maṭṭiyūr and Kaḻik-kōṭṭai (மட்டியூரும் கழிக்கோட்டையும்). Then his ocean-like army surrounded the outer walls of Southern Madura, and captured the city, he caused defeat (and death ?) to the Pāṇḍya (தாைப்படா மண் வழங்கி), had the country ploughed with asses, bestowed the name of Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya on the Pāṇḍyan and himself put on the crown of the Cōḷa called *Tribhuvana Vīrar* and circumambulated the big city of Madura worshipped the Lord with presents of jewels, caused the *Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam* of the Pāṇḍya to be renamed *Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya-maṇḍalam*, the city of Madura to be 'Muḍittalai Koṇḍa Cōḷa Puram', He took the title of *Lord of the Cēras and the Pāṇḍyas* (சேரபாண்டியன் தம்பிரான்) the term Pāṇḍya (so far as it applied to the ruler of the south) to become a thing of the past (Here is a play on the word Pāṇḍya, the king and Pāṇḍu or Paṇḍu—old); and on the bard (பாணன்) who sang the praise of the victor-king,—he bestowed the title of Pāṇḍya, he caused a big street and festivals to be instituted in his name and worshipped the God when taken out in procession. He covered with gold the shrine of Tiruvālavāy (Sundareśvara?) and made it resemble a mountain of gold, he granted to the Lord of Dance (புலியூர் ஆடும் அம்பலவாணற்கு) the revenue and tribute levied from the Cēra Pāṇḍya (or Cōḷa Pāṇḍya) country,……… …………gave gifts to Brahmins and caused pillars of victory with inscriptions eulogising his glory to be planted in all directions etc. In the 34th 51st day of king Kō-p-Para-Kesari-Varman

Tribhuvunacakravartī Tribhuvanavīradēva who took Madura, Karuvūr, the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya and celebrated Vīrābhiṣeka (anointment of hero) and Vijayābhiṣeka (anointment of victor) etc.

[*N. B.*] The Tribhuvanam inscription of Kulōttuṅga III (190—192 of 1907) refers to his building activities. The temple of Hālāhalāsya at Madura is among those temples mentioned to have been built by this king. This is confirmed by the two inscriptions from the Pudukkottai state referred to above.

TIRU-MURUKĀṞṞU--P-PAṬAI AND KAṬHOPANIṢAD.

BY

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, M.A., PH. D.,
Asst. Editor, Tamil Lexicon.

The word *āṟṟu-p-paṭai* is derived from the word āṟŭ (way) and the root paṭu (to direct), and hence means a poem wherein a poet or a dancer directs another to go to a patron of learning to receive presents when he meets him on his return from the same patron.

The fact that such a poetic composition existed before the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār is seen from his statements

கூத்தரும் பாணரும் பொருநரும் விறலியும்
ஆற்றிடைக் காட்சி யுறழத் தோன்றி
பெற்ற பெருவளம் பெறாஅர்க் கறிவுறீஇ
சென்றுபய னெதிரச் சொன்ன பக்கமும்.
Kūttarum pāṇarum porunarum viṟaliyum
Āṟṟiṭai-k kāṭci y-uṟaḻa-t tōṉṟi
Peṟṟa peruvaḷam peṟāar-k k-aṟiv-uṟīi
Ceṉṟŭ-paya ṉ-etira-c coṉṉa pakkamum.
(Tol. Poruḷ. 91.)

and

முன்னிலை சுட்டிய வொருமைக் கிளவி
பன்மையொடு முடியினும் வரைநிலை யின்றே
ஆற்றுப்படை மருங்கிற் போற்றல் வேண்டும்.
Muṉṉilai cuṭṭiya v-orumai-k kiḷavi
Paṉmaiyoṭŭ muṭiyiṉum varai-nilai y-iṉṟē
Āṟṟu-p-paṭai maruṅkiṟ pōṟṟal vēṇṭum.
(Tol. Col. 462.)

The poem is named *pāṇar-āṟṟu-p-paṭai, kūttar-āṟṟu-p-paṭai, porunar-āṟṟu-p-paṭai, viṟali-y-āṟṟu-p-paṭai* etc. according as the poet describes a *pāṇaṉ* (bard), *kūttaṉ* (dancer), *porunaṉ* (dancer at battle-field or threshing floor), *viṟali* (female dancer) etc. directing another of the respective class to go to the same patron from whom he or she has received presents.

But the poem *Tiru-murukāṟṟu-p-paṭai* does not receive its name in the same way. Here a poet is directed by Nakkīraṉār, the author of the poem, to go to God Murukaṉ at the shrines of Tiru-p-paraṅkuṉṟam, Tiru-c-cīr-alai-vāy (Tiruchendur), Tiru-v-āviṉaṉ-kuṭi (Palni), Tiru-v-ērakam (Udupi), Paḻa-mutircōlai probably (Aḻakar-kōil) etc. and worship Him if he wants to reach 'the final goal' (eternal bliss).

The lines that convey the sense 'if you want to reach the final goal' are:—

> சேவடி படருஞ் செம்ம லுள்ளமொடு
> நலம்புரி கொள்கைப் புலம்பிரிந் துறையும்
> செலவுநீ நயந்தனை யாயின்.
> *Cē-v-aṭi paṭaruñ cemma l-uḷḷamoṭu*
> *Nalam-puri koḷkai-p pulam-pirin t-uṟaiyum*
> *Celavu-nī nayantaṉai y-āyiṉ.*

What is the exact idea that these lines convey is the point in question? The meaning given by Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, the learned commentator, is 'If you desire (*nī nayantaṉai-y-āyiṉ*) to go (*celavu*) with your mind (*uḷḷamoṭu*) refined (*cemmal*) by your having done meritorious deeds (*nalam puri koḷkai*) which will enable you to reach the Holy Feet (*cē-v-aṭi-paṭarum*) that cannot be seen through the senses (*pulam pirintu uṟaiyum*).' The prose order according to him is this :—*Pulam pirintu uṟai-yum, cē-v-aṭi paṭarum, nalam puri koḷkai, cemmal uḷḷamoṭu, celavu nī nayantaṉai-y-āyiṉ.*

He is to be congratulated on having intuitively found out that the main idea of the lines is 'if you desire to win eternal bliss'. But there are some weak points in his interpretation:—(1) He does not seem to have found any word in the lines which means 'final goal'. (2) He splits the second line into two parts நலம்புரி கொள்கை (*nalam-puri-koḷkai*) and புலம் பிரிந்துறையும் (*pulam-pirint-uṟaiyum*) and takes the latter to mean 'being away from the cognisance of sense-organs' and makes the relative participle *uṟaiyum* qualify the word *cē-v-aṭi* found in the first line; the former part நலபும்ரி கொள்கை (*nalam-puri-koḷkai*) is taken to mean 'the doing of meritorious deeds' and is considered to be the cause of reaching *cē-v-aṭi* and the refinement of the mind, and hence is taken after *cē-v-aṭi paṭarum* and before *cemmal-uḷḷamoṭu;* and the relative participle *paṭarum* is taken to mean 'which stands as the reason to reach' (*paṭar-vataṟkū-k-kāra-*

ṉamāṉa). (3) The word *celavu* is taken to mean 'going'. (4) The place whereto he should go is not mentioned. The reason for this difficult construction of Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar seems to be that he thought that the ideas—(1) that the Holy Feet of God are non-cognisable to senses, (2) that the mind is purified by meritorious deeds and (3) that the Holy Feet are reached by meritorious deeds—are expressed in these lines.

But a comparison of the lines with the following stanzas in Kaṭhopaniṣad—

यस्तु विज्ञानवान् भवति **समनस्कः** सदाशुचिः ।
स तु **तत्पदमाप्नोति यस्माद्भूयो न जायते** ॥ (iii, 8.)
तद्विष्णोः **परमं पदम्** । (iii, 9.)
सा काष्ठा सा **परा गतिः** ॥ (iii, 11.)

enables us to interpret them without adopting the strained construction resorted to by the commentator. The expressions *cē-v-aṭi*, *cemmal-uḷḷamoṭu* and *celavu* respectively give the same sense as **परमं पदम्**, **समनस्कः** and **गतिः**. Hence the word '*celavu*' here does not mean 'going', but means 'final goal' (*parā gatiḥ*). The expression '*nalam*[1]*-puri-koḷkai-p-pulam-pirinturaiyum*' which means 'which is different from the region (*svarga*) where the fruit of his meritorious deeds (*puṇya*) alone are reaped' conveys in a different way the idea which is similar to that conveyed by '**यस्माद्भूयो न जायते**' which means 'from which he never returns'. Hence the meaning of the three lines of *Tirumurukāṟṟu-p-paṭai* is 'If you desire to reach, with a pure heart, the final goal which is the residence of the Holy Feet and which is different from Heaven (*svarga*) wherein one enjoys the fruit of one's meritorious deeds alone'.

Besides, the above lines of Kaṭhopaniṣad clearly show that Mahāmahopādhyāya Dākṣiṇātya Kalānidhi V. Swiminatha Aiyar has rightly chosen the reading பிரிந்து (*pirintu*) in the second line in preference to the reading புரிந்து (*purintu*) found in some editions and manuscripts.[2]

1. *Nalam* means *nal-viṉai-p-payaṉ*.
2. (*a*) Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai, V. S. Iyer Edition.
(*b*) Patiṉorāntirumuṟai, Centilvēlu Mudaliar Edition.
(*c*) Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, Commentary under Tol. Poruḷ. 91 Bhavanandam Pillai Edition.

It may also be noted here that, as the word *cē-v-aṭi* of *Tiru-murukāṟṟu-p-paṭai* is identical with परमं पदम्, so also the word அந்நிலை (*a-n-nilai*) in—

> நில்லா வுலகத்து நிலைமை தூக்கி
> அந்நிலை யணுகல் வேண்டி.
> *Nillā v-ulakattu nilaimai tūkki*
> *A-n-nilai y-aṇukal vēṇṭi.* (Perumpāṇ.[1] 466-7.)

(Desiring to reach that goal after carefully considering the transitoriness of earthly objects)—is evidently identical with तत्पदम् of Kaṭhopaniṣad. The demonstrative root '*a*' in *a-n-nilai* refers to the object in the mind of the speaker. It is called *neñcaṟi-cuṭṭu* by Tamil scholars.

It is a source of gratification to find that the most important Upaniṣadic thoughts are imbedded in the minds of Nakkīraṉār and others and that they find a natural expression in their Tamil works.

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1. Perumpāṇ = Perum-pāṇ-āṟṟu-p-paṭai.

HISTORY OF GRAMMATICAL THEORIES IN TAMIL AND THEIR RELATION TO THE GRAMMATICAL LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT*.

BY

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, M.A., PH. D.,
Asst. Editor, Tamil Lexicon.

INTRODUCTION.

It is my idea to present, in this thesis, the important grammatical theories in Tamil Language available from the written works of Tamil Grammarians and modern Tamil scholars in their historical setting and their relation to the Grammatical literature in Sanskrit and to discuss them on their merits and in reference to the evidences that may be collected from literary works and inscriptions.

The Grammarians mentioned in Tamil Language are:—

(1) Agastya with his twelve disciples Tolkāppiyaṉār, Ataṅkōṭṭācāṉ, Turāliṅkaṉ, Cempūṭcēy, Vaiyāpikaṉ, Vāyppiyaṉ, Paṉampāraṉ, Kaḻārampaṉ, Avinayaṉ, Kākkaipāṭiṉiyaṉ, Naṟṟattaṉ and Vāmanaṉ who are said to have lived in the pre-Christian Era.

(2) Iḷampūraṇar otherwise known as Uraiyāciriyar, probably of the 10th century, the earliest known commentator on Tolkāppiyam, the learned treatise on Tamil Grammar written by Tolkāppiyaṉār.

(3) Puttamittiraṉār of the 11th century, the author of Vīracōḻiyam.

(4) Peruntēvaṉār of the 11th or 12th century the commentator on Vīracōḻiyam.

(5) Kuṇavīrapaṇṭitar of the 13th century, the author of Nēminātam.

(6) Pavaṇanti of the 13th century, the author of Naṉṉūl.

(7) Mayilainātar, probably of the 14th century, the earliest commentator on Naṉṉūl.

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(8) Cēṉāvaraiyar, Teyvaccilaiyār and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, the well-known commentators on Tolkāppiyam (whose dates are not exactly known).

(9) Cuppiramaṇiya-tīṭcitar of the 17th century, the author of Pirayōkavivēkam.

(10) Vaittiyanāta-tēcikar of the 17th century, the author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam.

(11) Cuvāminata-tēcikar of the 17th century, the author of Ilakkaṇakkottu.

(12) Caṅkaranamaccivāyappulavar of the 17th century, a commentator on Naṉṉūl.

(13) The Rev. C. J. Beschi of the 18th century, the author of Toṉṉūlviḷakkam.

(14) Civañāṉa-muṉivar of the 18th century, the author of Tolkāppiyamutaṟcūttiravirutti and Ilakkaṇaviḷakka-c-cūṟāvaḷi.

(15) A few other commentators on Tolkāppiyam and Naṉṉūl.

Of them, Agastya and his disciples except Tolkāppiyaṉār, Paṉampāraṉār, Ataṅkōṭṭācāṉ and Avinayaṉār are known to us only from stray references found in the works of others. Paṉampāraṉār has written the *pāyiram* or the introductory stanza to Tolkāppiyam. There, it is mentioned, that Tolkāppiyam was written by Tolkāppiyaṉār after a careful study of the earlier treatises on Tamil grammar, on the model of Aindra-Vyākaraṇa, dealing with the Tamil Language current both in literature and usage from Tirupati on the north to Cape Comorin on the South; and that it was first read in the court of a Pāṇṭiyaṉ king for recognition before the grammarian Ataṅkōṭṭācāṉ. Mayilainātar, in his commentary on Naṉṉūl, mentions that a treatise on Grammar was written by Avinayaṉār and it was commented upon by Irāca-p-pavittira-p-pallavataraiyaṉ. But neither the treatise nor the commentary is available at present. The earliest treatise on Grammar that is available at present is only Tolkāppiyam. The later treatises are Vīracōḻiyam, Naṉṉūl, Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam, Pirayōkavivēkam, Ilakkaṇakkottu, Toṉṉūlviḷakkam, Tolkāppiyamutaṟcūttiravirutti and Ilakkaṇaviḷakka-c-cūṟāvaḷi.

The author of Vīracōḻiyam improves upon Tolkāppiyam and mentions a few points with reference to the literature of his time which are not found in it. The author of Naṉṉūl has incorporated almost all those contained in Tolkāppiyam and Vīracōḻi-

yam omitting a few, added a few points more and has given expression to them as concisely as possible. In doing so he has not generally followed the important principle observed by Tolkāppiyaṉār that one sūtra should have only one *vidhēya* or logical predicate with reference to one *uddēśya* or logical subject and this mars the beauty of his work. The author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam, after making a critical study of Tolkāppiyam and Naṉṉūl, has selected sūtras from them both, given most of them as they are found there and modified the rest a little. Hence he may be treated more as a commentator on Tolkāppiyam and Naṉṉūl than an author of a separate treatise. Pirayōkavivēkam is a treatise by itself where the author imports the technical expressions and theories of Sanskrit Grammar. The author of Ilakkaṇakkottū summarises in a few sūtras the ideas contained in the works of his predecessors. Hence he may be taken as an author of a compendium rather than an independent work.

The author of Toṉṉūlviḷakkam incorporates most of the sūtras found in Naṉṉūl, but modifies them wherever he differs from it. But in commentary on the same he has made very good use of the literature available to him.

Tolkāppiyamutaṟcūttiravirutti is an elaborate discussion on the first sūtra of Eḻuttatikāram of Tolkāppiyam, where the author avails himself of the opportunity to discuss the important views on Phonology and Accidence expressed by Tolkāppiyaṉār, by his commentators (Uraiyāciriyar), Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, and the author of Naṉṉūl, with the aid of his ripe knowledge both of Tamil and Sanskrit.

Ilakkaṇaviḷakkaccūṟāvaḷi is only a criticism on the views of the author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam where he differs from the author of Naṉṉūl.

I may also mention here that Tolkāppiyaṉār has worked out a beautiful Tamil Grammar on the models of Sanskrit Prātiśākhyas, Yāska's Nirukta, Pāṇini's Śikṣā and Pāṇini's Grammar or that of his predecessors without doing the least violence to the genius of the Tamil Language. It is also said by Paṉampāraṉār that he based his work on Aindra-Vyākaraṇa; but tradition says that all the eight treatises on Sanskrit Grammar including Aindra were ousted by Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. The only reference which connects Indra with Sanskrit Grammar is found in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya where it is said that he studied Sanskrit Grammar

word by word under Bṛhaspati for 1000 celestial years and was not able to complete it.[1]

There is striking correspondence between Kātantra and Tolkāppiyam in respect of arrangement of topics and use of technical terms such as *vibhakti = vēṟṟumai*, *dīrgha = neṭil*, *hrasva = kuṟil* etc. From this Dr. Burnell[2] seems to infer that Tolkāppiyaṉār followed Kātantra and Prātiśākhyas which, according to him, represented the Aindra School, instead of Pāṇini's Grammar and also conjectures that Tolkāppiyam may be assigned to the 8th century after Christ.[3] But from inscriptional and other evidences it is generally believed that the works of Sangam period could not have been produced later than 5th century A. D. and some of them like Puṟanāṉūṟù and Patiṟṟuppattù could be taken to the beginning of the Christian Era, and Tolkāppiyam is earlier than all of them. Consistently with this widely prevalent belief, it could hardly be held that Tolkāppiyaṉār had for his model the Kātantra Grammar which is said to belong to the first century after Christ.[4]

An attempt is made in this thesis to show that Tolkāppiyaṉār adapted not only the Sanskrit Grammatical terms and the arrangement, but also *many of the Sanskrit grammatical theories.* For instance, his account of the origin of speech-sounds and the function of case-suffixes is a close reproduction of what is found in old Sanskrit Grammars; while, however, in the treatment of compounds, and the initial and the final sounds of words, he appears to have made certain alterations and adaptations to suit the requirements of Tamil language. On the other hand, the authors of Vīracōḻiyam and Pirayōkavivēkam have imitated Pāṇini's Grammar in declension, conjugation and word-formation to such an extent that they have completely distorted the perspective through which the linguistic phenomena of the Tamil Language should be analysed and evaluated. They have also incorporated in their works a close translation of Vararuci's Kārikās on Sanskrit compounds.

It will also be seen from the following pages that the other grammarians like the authors of Naṉṉūl and Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam

1. *Bṛhaspatiḥ Indrāya divyam varṣa-sahasram pratipadoktānām śabdānām śabda-pārāyaṇam provāca, nāntam jagāma.*
2. B. A. S. p. 8.
3. B. A. S. p. 55 f.n.
4. B. S. G. p. 83.

have, in general, followed Tolkāppiyaṉār, though, here and there as in the case of accent and *aḷapeṭai,* they agree with the author of Vīracōḻiyam.

For the sake of convenience, I have divided, in this thesis, the period from the Pre-Christian Era to the present day into three:—Ancient, Medieval and Modern, Ancient representing the period extending from the Pre-Christian Era to the 5th century A.D. (*i.e.*) the end of Sangam Period, Medieval, the period from the 6th century A.D. to the 14th century A.D. and Modern, the period from the 15th century A.D. upto the present day.

I. SPEECH-SOUNDS.

1. 1. *How speech sounds are produced*:—Tolkāppiyaṉār says in the sūtra—

Unti mutalā muntu-vaḷi tōṉṟi-t
Talaiyiṉu miṭaṟṟiṉu neñciṉu nilaii-p
Pallu m-italu nāvu mūkkum
Aṇṇamu m-uḷappaṭa v-eṇmuṟai nilaiyāṉ
Uṟuppuṟ ṟ-amaiya neṟippaṭa nāṭi
Ellā v-eḻuttuñ colluṅ kālai-p
Piṟappi ṉ-ākkam vēṟu-vē ṟ-iyala
Tiṟappaṭa-t teriyuṅ kāṭci y-āṉa. (Tol. E. 83.)

that air which starts from navel comes out as different speech-sounds by passing through the eight parts—chest, neck, head, hard palate, teeth, tongue, lips and nose, and undergoing different modifications therein. This is more or less the translation of the following Kārikās of Pāṇini's Śikṣā:—

Mārutastūrasi caran mandrañ janayati ..... *svaram* |
Kaṇṭhē mādhyandinayugam ......
Tāram tārtīyasavanam śīrṣaṇyam jāgatānugam |
Sōdīrṇō mūrdhnyabhihatō vaktram-āpadya mārutaḥ |
Varṇāñ janayatē ......
Aṣṭāu sthānāni varṇānām uraḥ kaṇṭhaḥ śiras-tathā |
Jihvāmūlañca dantāśca nāsikōṣṭhāu ca tālu ca ||

It may be noted here that *jihvāmūlam* is translated as '*nā*' or tongue, while it really means the root of the tongue.

Besides it is said in Pāṇini's Śikṣā that '*h*', when it is in company with any one of the five nasals and four semi-vowels, is 'chest-sound' but that, when it is alone, it is guttural.

Cf. '*Hakāram pañcamairyuktam antasthābhiśca saṃyutam* |
Urasyam tam vijānīyāt kaṇṭhyam āhurasaṃyutam ||
(P. Ś. 16.)

Though Tolkāppiyaṉār has not stated 'h' among Tamil sounds, he has mentioned the chest as one of the organs of speech probably because the air which finally comes out as speech-sound passes through it.

But the other grammarians from Iḷampūraṇar downwards have not correctly understood the significance of the mention of chest, neck and head. Iḷampūraṇar says in his commentary on the sūtra—

Mellelut tāṟum piṟappi ṉ-ākkam
Colliya paḷḷi nilaiyiṉa v-āyiṉum
Mūkkiṉ vaḷi-y-icai yāppuṟa-t tōṉṟum. (Tol. E. 100.)

where it is said that the nasals have for their organ of production, nose also besides their respective organs of production, that the voiceless consonants are produced by *talai-vaḷi* or the air when it passes through the head, and that the semi-vowels are produced by *miṭaṟṟu-vaḷi* or the air when it passes through the neck. This statement of his is probably due to the fact that, of the eight organs mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṉār in Tol. E. 83, all but chest, neck and head have been mentioned as organs of production in sūtras 84 to 100. But he does not seem to have noted that *neñcu* or chest mentioned in Tol. E. 83 is left out.

The author of Vīracōḻiyam mentions the same eight organs[1] as Tolkāppiyaṉār, but does not say anything as Iḷampūraṇar does about the places where *valliṉam*, *melliṉam* and *iṭaiyiṉam* are produced. But his commentator Peruntēvaṉār says that the voiceless consonants are produced at the chest, *āytam* at the head, vowels and semi-vowels at the neck and the nasals at the nose.[2] The author of Naṉṉūl closely follows Peruntēvaṉār in all respects.[3]

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1. *Unti-mutal-eḻuṅ kāṟṟu-p-piṟant-ura muñ-ciramum*
Pantamali-kaṉ ṭamu-mūkkum-uṟ-ṟ-aṇṇam pal-l-uṭaṉē
Muntum-itaḻ-nā moḻi-y-uṟuppāku muyaṟci y-iṉ-āl
Vantu-nikaḻu m-eḻutteṉṟu-colluvar vāṇutalē. (V. C. 6.)

2. *Ivaṟṟuḷ, urattai valliṉamum, cirattai āytamum, kaṇṭattai uyirum iṭaiyiṉamum, mūkkai melliṉamum, poruntum-eṉa-k-koḷka.* (V. C. 6, Comm.)

3. *Niṟai-y-uyir muyaṟciyi ṉ-uḷvaḷi turappa*
Eḻum-aṇu-t tiraḷ-uraṅ kaṇṭa m-ucci
Mūkkuṟ ṟ-itaḻ-nā-p pal-l-aṇa-t toḻiliṉ
Vevvē ṟ-eḻuttoli y-āy-varal piṟappē. (Na. 74.)

The author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam improves upon Tol. E. 83 by adding that the sound has emanated from *udāna* which is made to rise by the will of the person.[1] This clearly shows that he has in his mind the Kārikā—

Ātmā buddhyā samētyārthān manō yuṅktē vivakṣayā |
Manaḥ kāyāgnim āhanti sa prērayati mārutam ||

which precedes '*Mārutastūrasi caran* etc.' in Pāṇini's Śikṣā, and agrees with Iḷampūraṇar that *valliṉam* is produced at the head, *melliṉam* at the nose and *iṭaiyiṉam* at the neck[2] and differs from Naṉṉūlār in saying that *āytam* is produced at the chest[3] instead of at the head. This is perhaps due to his having known that the Sanskrit '*h*' is produced at the chest when it is in company with any one of the five nasals and semi-vowels; but since *āytam* must invariably be followed by a voiceless consonant, it is more appropriate to say that it is produced in places just near the places of production of the respective voiceless consonants. This point will be dealt with at great length in 1.55.

C. J. Beschi follows Naṉṉūlār *in toto*[4].

From all this it is evident that the Tamil Grammarians with the exception of Tolkāppiyaṉār have not recognised the true distinction between the *ābhyantara-prayatna* and the *bāhya-prayatna* mentioned by Pāṇini and other Sanskrit Grammarians. They have not also recognised that the classification of vowels, explosives, semi-vowels and fricatives is due to their distinction in *ābhyantaraprayatna* and that the clasification into voiceless and voiced is due to the difference in the condition of the vocal

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Avvaḻi,
Āvi y-iṭaimai y-iṭa-miṭa ṟ-ākum
Mēvu meṉmai-mūk ku-uram-peṟum vaṉmai. (Na. 75.)
Āyta-k k-iṭan-talai y-aṅkā muyaṟci
Cārpeḻut t-ēṉavun tam-muta l-aṉaiya. (Na. 87.)

1. *Uyir-uḻap putāṉaṉi ṉāta m-ucci*
Miṭaṟura mūkkuṟ ṟ-itaḻ-nā-p pal-l-aṇa-t
Taṭaintu piṉṉa r-avaṟṟatu viṉaiyāṉ
Vēṟu-vē ṟ-eḻuttoli y-āy-varal piṟappē. (I. V. 9.)

2. *A-v-vaḻi y-āvi y-iṭai-miṭa ṟ-ucci*
Vaṉmai meṉmai-mūk k-icaiyiṟ ṟōṉṟum. (I. V. 10.)
Āyta-neñ cōcai-yi ṉ-aṅkāṉ t-iyaluñ
Cārpeḻut t-ēṉa-v-un tam-muta l-aṉaiya. (I. V. 13.)

T. V. 3. Comm.

chords and certain concomitant factors which come under *bāhyaprayatna*[1].

It may be useful to note in this connection that the tension of the vocal chords and the accompanying vibration and musical clang or voice correspond to the *bāhyaprayatnas* of the voiced consonants, viz., *saṃvāra*, *nāda* and *ghōṣa*, while the flaccid condition of the vocal chords and the accompanying non-vibration and breath correspond to the *bāhyaprayatnas* of the voiceless consonants, viz., *vivāra*, *śvāsa* and *aghōṣa*.

At the end of the third section in Eḻuttatikāram, Tolkāppiyaṉār states in two sūtras—

Ellā v-eḻuttum veḷippaṭa-k kiḷantu
Colliya paḷḷi y-eḻutaru vaḷiyiṟ
Piṟappoṭu viṭuvaḷi y-uṟaḻcci vāra-t
Takattelu vaḷi-y-icai y-ariṟapa nāṭi
Aḷapiṟ kōṭa l-antaṇar maṟaittē. (Tol. E. 102.)
Aḵtiva ṉuvalā t-eḻuntupuṟat t-icaikku
Meyteri vaḷi-y-icai y-aḷavu-nuvaṉ ṟiciṉē.
(*ibid.* 103.)

that the theory of speech sounds and modifications which sound undergoes within the body may be learnt from the scriptures of the Brahmins and that he has dealt with here only the articulated speech-sounds that come out of the mouth. Here it is evident that he refers to the four phases of speech-sound, *parā*, *paśyantī*, *madhyamā* and *vaikharī* described in Sanskrit Grammar, *parā*, being that phase of the *śabda-brahman*, the undifferentiated primordial sound manifested at *mūlādhāra* or sacral plexus, *paśyantī* being that phase which is manifested at the navel and which is cognisible to Yōgins, *madhyamā* being that phase which is manifested at the heart and *vaikharī* being that phase which is manifested out of the vocal organs as the articulated sound. These four phases are clearly suggested by the following Ṛk mentioned by Patañjali in the first *āhnika* of his Mahābhāṣya :—

Catvāri vākparimitā padāni
Tāni vidur brāhmaṇā yē manīṣiṇaḥ |

1. *Saṃvṛtē kaṇṭhē nādaḥ kriyatē.* (Tai. P. II; 4.)
Vivṛtē śvāsaḥ. (Tai. P. II. 5.)
..*Kaṇṭhasya khē vivṛtē saṃvṛtē vā āpadyatē*
śvāsatām nādatām· vā. (R. V. P. 13, 1.)

Guhā trīṇi nihitā nēṅgayanti
Turīyam vācō manuṣyā vadanti ||
(M. B. i. 3. 24 and 25.)

Hence the three sūtras, Tol. E. 83, 102 and 103 clearly show that Tolkāppiyaṉār had studied Sanskrit Śikṣā, Prātiśākhyas and grammar, and had adopted in his work those points which would suit Tamil Language.

1.2. *Classification*:—Speech-sounds are first classified into primary and secondary in almost all the treatises on Tamil Grammar. They are respectively called *mutal-eḻuttù*[1] and *cār-peḻuttù*[2] by Naṉṉūlār and his successors. The name *cārpeḻuttù* may have been suggested to them by the expression '*cārntu-varaṉ marapil*' in the first sūtra in *Eḻuttatikāram* of Tolkāppiyam.

1.21. *Primary sounds* : 1.211. *Definition*:—Primary sounds are those which have only one definite place of production in vocal organs for each of them. That this is the idea of Tolkāppiyaṉār is inferred from his statement that secondary sounds are found only in the company of primary sounds and cannot have a separate place of production.[3]

1.212. *Number of primary sounds*:—The primary sounds are, in the opinion of Tolkāppiyaṉār, thirty[4] in number consisting of 12 vowels[5] and 18 consonants[6]. The author of Vīracōḻiyam mentions *āytam* between vowels and consonants and hence

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1. *Uyiru m-uṭampum-ā muppatu mutalē.* (Na. 59.)
2. *Uyirmey āytam uyiraḷapu oṟṟaḷapu*
A∴kiya iu aiau ma∴kāṉ
Taṉi-nilai pattuñ cārpeḻut t-ākum. (Na. 60.)
Moḻi-k-kā raṇam-ā nāta-kā riya-v-oli
Eḻuttatu mutal-cār p-eṉa-v-iru vakaittē. (I. V. 3.)
3. *Cārntu vari ṉ-allatu tamakkiyal pila-v-eṉa-*
Tērntu-veḷi-p paṭutta v-ēṉai mūṉrun
Tattañ cārpiṟ piṟappoḻu civaṇi
Otta kāṭciyiṟ ṟammiyal p-iyalum. (Tol. E. 101.)
4. *Eḻutteṉa-p-paṭupa*
Akara-mutal
Ṉakara v-iṟuvāy muppa∴teṉpa
Cārntu-varaṉ marapiṉ mūṉralaṅ kaṭaiyē. (ibid. 1.)
5. *Aukāra v-iṟuvāy-p*
Paṉṉī r-eḻuttu m-uyir-eṉa moḻipa. (ibid. 8.)
6. *Ṉakara v-iṟuvāy-p*
Patiṉeṉ ṇ-eḻuttu mey-y-eṉa moḻipa. (ibid. 9.)

according to him the primary sounds seem to be thirty-one.[1] The author of Nēminātam follows him in this point.[2] But all the other grammarians repeat the opinion of Tolkāppiyaṉār.

It seems to me that the authors of Vīracōḻiyam and Nēminātam have gone wrong in having included *āytam* among primary sounds, since its pronunciation varies according to the consonant that succeeds it. This point will be dealt with at greater length in 1.55.

1.213. *Classification of primary sounds*:—Primary sounds are classified into vowels and consonants, of which the vowels are produced by opening the mouth, which is seen from the expression '*aṅkāntŭ iyalum*' in Tol. E. 85 and *avaṟṟōraṉṉa* in Tol. E. 86, etc. The vowels and the consonants will be dealt with in detail after secondary sounds are defined and numbered (*i.e.*) in 1.3 and 1.4.

1.22. *Secondary sounds*: 1.221. *Definition* :—Secondary sounds are *those which depend for their pronunciation upon the preceding or succeeding consonants.* This is evident from Tolkāppiyaṉār's statement '*cārntŭ variṉ allatŭ tamakkŭ iyalpila*' in Tol. E. 101.

But Naṉṉūlār does not seem to have understood the full significance of this definition of Tolkāppiyaṉār. He seems to have mistaken *kuṟṟiyal-ikaram* and *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram* for '*i*' and '*u*' shortened to half a *mātrā* each. According to Tolkāppiyaṉār the places of production of *kuṟṟiyalikaram* and *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram* are not always the same as those for '*i*' and '*u*', but change according to the preceding consonant.

Mayilainātar says that *cārpeḻuttŭ* is that which is other than *mutal-eḻettŭ* and which is used along with another sound.[3] An old commentator on Naṉṉūl says that *cārpeḻuttŭ* is one which has

1. *Aṟinta-v-eḻuttam-muṉ paṉṉiraṇṭāvi-ka ḷ-āṉa-kam-muṉ*
Piṟanta-patiṉeṭṭu mey-naṭu-v-āytam peyarttiṭai-y-ām
Muṟintaṉa-yam-muta l-āṟu ṅañaṇa namaṉa-v-eṉṟu
Ceṟintaṉa-melliṉañ ceppāta-valliṉan tēmoḻiyē. (V. C. 1.)

2. *Āvi y-akara-muta l-āṟiraṇṭām-āytam-iṭai*
Mēvuṅ kakara-mutaṉ meykaḷ-ā—mūvāṟuṅ
Kaṇṇu muṟaimaiyāṟ kāṭṭiya-mup pattoṉṟu
Naṉṉumutal vaippāku naṉkŭ (N. N. E. 1.)

3. *Mutaleḻuttāṉ-taṉmai avaṟṟiṟk-iṉmaiyāṉum, cārppiṟ-ṟōṉrutal-āṉum ippattum cārpākavē koḷḷavēṇṭum-eṉpatŭ.* (Na. 59. M.)

undergone modification by one part of it combining with another part or by being preceded or succeeded by another sound.[1]

The author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam agrees with Mayilainātar.

Caṅkaranamaccivāyar says that *cārpeḻuttŭ* is that which is used only in combination as vowel-consonant, which comes in company of *mutaleḻuttŭ* as *āytam* or *mutaleḻuttŭ* modified as the rest. He adds that it may also be defined as a sound found only in words.[2]

Civañāṉamuṉivar, on the other hand, agrees with Tolkāppiyaṉār and elaborately criticises in his Tolkāppiyamutaṟcūttira-virutti, the definition given by the commentators of Naṉṉūl and the author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam.

1.222. *Number of secondary sounds*:—The secondary sounds are, in the opinion of Tolkāppiyaṉār, three in number consisting of *kuṟṟiyal-ikaram* (roughly translated as shortened '*i*'), *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram* (roughly translated as shortened '*u*'), and *āytam*[3], and each of them has half a *mātrā* for its quantity.[4] Iḷampūraṇar mentions under Tol. E. 1, that they are 226 in number consisting of *kuṟṟiyal-ikaram, kuṟṟiyal-ukaram* and *āytam*, 7 *uyir-aḷapeṭai* and 216 vowel-consonants. According to the author of Vīracōḻiyam they are 11 in number consisting of 7 *aḷapeṭai* (one corresponding to each of 7 long vowels), *kuṟṟiyal-ikaram, kuṟṟiyal-ukaram*, shortened '*ai*' and shortened '*au*'.[5]

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1. *Tammoṭu tām cārntum, iṭam cārntum, paṟṟukkōṭŭ cārntum, vikārattāl varutaliṉ.* (Na. p. 40- f.n.)

2. *Uyirmey uyirum meyyum kūṭippiṟattalāṉum, āytam . . . avaṟṟiṉ-iṭaiyē cārntuvarutalāṉum eṉaiya tattamutaleḻuttiṉ-ṟiripu vikāṟattāṟ piṟattalāṉum cārpeḻuttāyiṉavāka-kkoḷka . . . orumoḻiyai-c-cārntu varutalē tamakkilakka-ṇamākavuṭaimaiyiṟ cārpeḻuttāyiṉa-v-eṉakkōṭalum-ām-eṉka.* (Na. 60. C.)

3. *Avaitām,*
Kuṟṟiya l-ikaram kuṟṟiya l-ukaram
Āytam-eṉṟa
Muppāṟ puḷḷiyu m-eḻuttō r-aṉṉa. (Tol. E. 2.)

4. *Avviya-ṉilaiyu m-ēṉai mūṉṟē.* (ibid. 12.)

5. *Iṟuti-mey-nīṅkiya v-īrāṟil-aintu kuṟiṉeṭil-ēḻ*
Peṟuvariyāṉeṭu nīrmai-y-aḷapu piṉainta-varkkam
Aṟuvaṟu-valloṟṟu mellor ṟum-ām-vaṉmai mēl-ukaram
Uṟuvatu-naiyum toṭarmoḻi-p-piṉṉu netiṟ-piṉṉumē. (V. C. 2.)
Akaram-vakaratti ṉōṭiyaint-auvām yakarattiṉōṭŭ

The author of Nēminātam mentions both in his text and commentary 244 secondary sounds consisting of 7 *uyir-aḷapeṭai*, *kuṟṟiyal-ikaram*, *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram*, shortened *'ai'*, shortened *'au'* 216 vowel-consonants (*ka*, *kā*, *ki*, etc.), 6 shortened voiceless consonants, 6 nasals, and the shortened *'y'*, *'l'*, *'v'*, *'ḷ'* and ஃ.[1]

Naṉṉūlār mentions 369 secondary sounds consisting of 216 vowel-consonants, 8 *muṟṟāytam*, 21 *uyiraḷapeṭai*. 42 *oṟṟaḷapeṭai*, 37 *kuṟṟiyal-ikaram*, 36 *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram*, 3 shortened *'ai'* 1 shortened *'au'*, 3 shortened *'m'* and 2 shortened *āytam*.[2] He explains them thus :—Since there are 12 vowels and 18 consonants, the number of vowel-consonants is $18 \times 12 = 216$.[3] Since there are 6 voiceless consonants which can follow *āytam*, since *āytam* is substituted in sandhi for consonants as in *av* + *kaṭiya* = *aஃkaṭiya* and since it is inserted in certain words for the

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Akaram-iyaintaiya tākum ā ē ō viṉā-v-antam-ām
Ekara-okara-mey yiṟ-puḷḷi-mēvum a-i-u-c-cuṭṭām
Ikaraṅ-kuṟuki varuṅ-kuṟṟukaram-piṉ ya-v-variṉē. (ibid. 3.)
Kuṟṟeḻuttoṉṟoṉ ṟ-arai-y-ākum-ai-au v-iraṇṭuneṭil
Oṟṟeḻuttāytam i-u-v-arai-mūṉṟaḷa p-ōṅkuyirmey
Maṟṟeḻuttaṉṟuyir māttirai-y-ē-peṟu maṉṉukiṉṟa
Oṟṟeḻuttiṉpiṉ ṉ-uyir-variṉ-ēṟu m-oḷi-y-iḻaiyē. (ibid. 5.)

1. *Ōṅkuyirka ḷ-orriṉmē l-ēṟi y-uyirmey-y-āy*
Āṅkiru nūṟṟorupat tāṟākum—pāṅkuṭaiya
Valloṟṟu melloṟṟu varkka m-aḷapeṭaikaḷ
Colloṟṟi nīṭṭa-t takum. (N. N. E. 3.)
Toṭarneṭiṟ kīḻ-vaṉmai mēl-ukaram ya-p-piṉ
Paṭaiya varum-ikar m-aṉṟi—maṭa-nallāy
Mummai-y-iṭat t-ai-y-au-v-uṅ kuṉṟumuṉ ṉoṟṟuṇṭēl
Cemmai-y-uyi r-ēruñ ceṟintů. (ibid. 4.)

2. *Uyirmey y-iraṭṭu-nūṟ ṟeṭṭuya r-āytam*
Eṭṭuyi r-aḷapeḻu mūṉṟoṟ ṟ-aḷapeṭai
Āṟē ḻa∴ku m-immup paṉēḻ
Ukara m-āṟā ṟ-aikāṉ mūṉṟē
Aukā ṉ-oṉṟē ma∴kāṉ mūṉṟē
Āyta m-iraṇṭoṭu cārpeḻut t-uṟu-viri
Oṉṟoḻi muṉṉūṟ ṟeḻupā ṉ-eṉpa. (Na. 61.)

3. *Puḷḷi-viṭ ṭav-v-oṭu muṉ-ṉ-uru v-āki-y-um*
Ēṉai y-uyir-ō ṭuruvu tirintum
Uyir-aḷa vāy-ataṉ vaṭivoḻit tiruvayiṉ
Peyaroṭu m-orru-muṉ ṉ-āy-varu m-uyirmey. (ibid. 89.)

sake of metre as in *ceyvaஃtu* (for ceyvatu), the number of *muṟṟāy-tam* is $6+2=8$.[1] Since *aḷapeṭai* can come at the beginning, the middle and the end of words and since there are seven long vowels, the number of *uyir-aḷapeṭai* is $7 \times 3=21$[2].

(*To be continued.*)

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1. *Kuṟiyataṉ muṉṉa r-āyta-ppuḷḷi*
Uyiroṭu puṇarntaval lāṟaṉ micaittē. (ibid. 90.)
2. *Icai-keṭiṉ moḻi-muta l-iṭai-kaṭai nilai-neṭil*
Aḷapeḻu m-avaṟṟavar ṟ-iṉa-k-kuṟil kuṟi-y-ē. (ibid. 91.)

THE MADURAI CHRONICLES AND THE TAMIL ACADEMIES.

BY

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN, M.A., B.L.,

Advocate, Madras.

(Continued from page 124 of Vol. V part II.)

III

Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi's Chronicle of the Sacred Sports of Madurai would be dismissed by the sober historian as having very little value as raw material for history were it not that the work had been designed, obviously, to exalt the fane at Madurai above all others dedicated to the lord Śiva by making its divine denizen the hero of numerous miracles, to make Madurai the scene of those miracles and to associate the kings of Madurai as closely as possible with the miracles wrought by the Lord,— a three-fold purpose which was inspired by the circumstances that the city was the capital of the Madurai country, that the country was ruled over by the Pāṇḍyas and that the principal temple of Madurai is esteemed among the holiest of south India. It is the chronicler's attempt to associate the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai with these legends that invests his work with some interest to the historian and compels him to look for some strands of history, however fine and difficult of perception, in the wearisome web of the chronicler's fancy.

The chronicle contains very little material which is useful to the historian: it does not even proceed on a chronological basis. It mentions only eight soverigns of the Pāṇḍya line, Malayadhvaja,[1] Taṭātakā,[2] Ugra,[3] Datta,[4] Vīra,[5] Mūrti,[6] Varaguṇa[7] and Varaguṇa's son,[8] and of these the first three are clearly mythical, the fourth and the fifth are shadowy, and the last is not even mentioned by name. Two places in the

1. Legend 3 2. Legend 4
3. Legend 10 4. Legend 36
5. Legend 39, and probably Legends 43, 44 also.
6. Legend 51 7. Legend 48 8. Legend 49

Pāṇḍya country are specially mentioned, Old Madurai[1] and Maṇavūr,[2] but very little is said about them. One of the legends discovers a miraculous reason for the river Vaihai flowing along the outskirts of the city.[3] Other legends have been fabricated for furnishing plausible explanations of such place-names as Madurai,[4] Nāṉ-māḍak-Kūḍal,[5] Ālavāy,[6] North Ālavāy,[7] the Serpent, the Cow and the Bull Mounts,[8] the Boar Mount[9] and the Elephant Mount,[10] Uttara-kōśa-maṅgai,[11] Kaṭṭu-Nallūr-irum-śiṟai and Taṉic-Śayam[12] : the chronicler turns etymologist but instead of seeking for explanations of the names in linguistic facts he weaves frivolous romance round and round the names. The chronicler's lack of inventiveness is responsible for the Lord figuring in miracles which are tediously monotonous in *motif*: the Lord gives a board to the Academicians[13] and another to Bhadra[14]: He gives a purse to Darumi,[15] an unfailing purse to a Pāṇḍya[16] and an unfailing bag to another devotee[17] : Māṇikya-vācaka is made to squander his king's monies[18] and a chieftain commisioned by his king to raise a force of mercenaries is made to do likewise[19] : the legends in which the Lord shows His grace to some orphan pups,[20] to a black-bird[21] and to a heron[22] are quite similar in conception : in as many as three legends the prime *motif* is metamorphosis[23]: if transfiguration has a part to play in only one legend,[24] the *motif* of a curse and transformation in consequence is found in as many as three.[25]

Many of the miracles narrated in this chronicle fall into groups or 'cycles'. Two miracles are intended to establish the surpassing holiness of the fane of Madurai by associating Indra and his elephant with it.[26] In nine the principal figure is practically king Sundara who is identified with Lord Sundara of the sacred temple of Madurai.[27] The minor figures in these miracles are a Pāṇḍya king, Malayadhvaja,[28] and his daughter, Taṭātakā,

1. Legend 21 2. Legend 53 3. Legend 7
4. Legend 36 5. Legend 12 6. Legend 47
7. Legend 20 8. Legend 36 9. Legend 59
10. Legend 26 11. Legend 22 12. Legend 44
13. Legend 15 14. Legend 56 15. Legend 16
16. Legend 40 17. Legend 50 18. Legends 27-30
19. Legend 39 20. Legend 59 21. Legend 60
22. Legend 63 23. Legends 28, 29, 31
24. Legend 37 25. Legends 19, 22, 58 26. Legends 1, 2
27. Legends 3-11 28. Legends 3, 9

who becomes king Sundara's consort,[1] and Ugra, the son of king Sundara by this Pāṇḍya princess. Ugra becomes the hero of another miracle[2] and has a subsidiary place in two others.[3] In two miracles the hero is an adept,— but he is none other than the Lord Sundara.[4] A cycle of seven legends[5] clusters round an Academy at Madurai: in these the Lord himself occupies the centre of the stage and the minor characters are Agastya,[6] Nak-Kīraṉ,[7] Kabilaṉ,[8] Paraṇar,[9] Rudra-Janman,[10] Iḍaik-kāḍaṉ[11] and Darumi.[12] Perhaps, an eighth legend also relates to the Academy, for Nak-Kīraṉ seems to figure in it prominently.[13] Two cycles of legends relate to two great hymnalists of Tamil Śaivism,— Māṇikya-vācaka[14] and Jñāna-sambandha.[15] We have two more cycles,— one of four miracles relating to Bhadra a bard,[16] and another of two miracles relating to the children of a boar.[17]

Perum-Paṟṟap-Puliyūr Nambi has been quite disdainful of chronological details. With reference to most of the miracles he vouchsafes to us nothing more definite than that they occurred 'once upon a time': this phrase is as common, indeed, in his chronicle as it is in children's tales. Nor does he marshall the miracles in chronological order: he narrates them as they come to him: he tumbles them out pell mell. Two instances should be enough: the Māṇikya-vācaka cycle[18] is interposed between two series of miracles each of which happened 'once upon a time':[19] two of the miracles of the cycle of Jñāna-sambandha are related in the middle of the work[20] and the third miracle is relegated almost to the end.[21] Perum-Paṟṟap-Puliyūr Nambi was not a chronicler of events but a vendor of miracles: to the miracle-monger the vagueness of undetermined antiquity has naturally a greater fascination than the precision of dated history.

Still, scattered about in these legends, we have occasional hints about the periods to which some of the miracles could be

1. Legends 3, 4 2. Legend 21 3. Legends 10, 11
4. Legends 13, 14 5. Legends 15-21 6. Legend 18
7. Legends 15-19 8. Legends 15, 19, 20
9. Legends 15, 19 10. Legend 19; *See also* Legend 22
11. Legend 20. 12. Legend 16 13. Legend 44
14. Legends 27-30 15. Legends 37, 38, 62
16. Legends 54-7 17. Legends 58-9
18. Legends 27-30 19. Legends 23-6 and Legends 31-6.
20. Legends 37-8 21. Legend 62

roughly assigned. The hints are few and vague, and when closely scanned they prove less useful than they appear at first sight. Such as they are, they have to be accepted and turned by the historian to such purpose as he can.

The chronicle makes mention of various potentates and peoples: kings like the Cōla,[1] the Cēra,[2] the Cēdi-rāya[3] and the Kāḍu-veṭṭi,[4] and peoples like the Karṇāṭas,[5] the hunters,[6] the Śramaṇas,[7] the Yavanas[8] and the Turks.[9] None of them, however, is mentioned with that fulness which is necessary for the historian: it is impossible, on the strength of these references, to determine the sequence of the miracles.

The chronicler tells us, for instance, that, in the reigns of four different Pāṇḍyas, the Cōla kings invaded the Pāṇḍya country and advanced upon the capital city of Madurai, and that on each occasion the Lord Sundara played a miracle and saved the city from falling into Cōla hands.[10] The only historical event of antiquity which could be suggested as affording a basis for these legends is the Battle of Kūḍal (Madurai) of which Nak-Kīrar, the poet of the Śaṅgam collections, makes mention in one of his poems: Pal̲aiyan̲-Mār̲an̲ defeated Kiḷḷi-Vaḷavan̲ who had encamped with a large army just outside the walls of Kūḍal.[11] But we can now discover no circumstance which would enable us to decide whether Pal̲aiyan̲-Mār̲an̲ and

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1. Legends 26, 43, 44 (54), 46, 48, 49, 54 (3)
2. Legends 44, 55
3. Legends 39, 49
4. Legend 24
5. Legends 49, 51
6. Legend 49
7. Legends 26, 36, 37, 38, 51
8. Legend 49
9. Legend 39 (26)
10. Legends 43, 46, 48, 49
11. . . . . . . நெடுந்தே
ரிழையணி யானைப் பழையன் மாறன்
மாடமலி மறுகிற் கூட லாங்கண்
வெள்ளத் தானையொடு வேறுபுலத் திறுத்த
கிள்ளி வளவ னல்லமர் சாஅய்க்
கடும்பரிப் புரவியொடு களிறு பல வவ்வி
யேதின் மன்னரூர் கொளக்
கோதை மார்ப னுவகையிற் பெரிதே.

Aha-Nān̲ūr̲u, 346 : 18-25.

Other interpretations of these lines are possible but not probable.

his victory at the Battle of Kūḍal are referred to in any of the four legends.[1]

At the very start we may decide, for the present purpose, to leave wholly of account the numerous legends which contain no clue for determining their place in a chronological scheme and do not even stand related to some other legend the place of which atleast in a system of chronology is beyond cavil. Such legends can be shoved in and out as suits the fancy of the chronicler: they cannot help us to fix either their own sequence or the relative positions of the legends between which they are thrust in.[2]

The first of the chronological hints is to be found early in the chronicle: Śiva is said to have played these sports at the rate of sixteen in a yuga.[3] The yugas being four and the Sports being sixty-four, the arithmetic of the chronicler is flawless, but we have yet to verify if the Lord was so regular in playing at the game of miracles as the arithmetic of the chronicler would require. The statement, however, seems clearly to imply that the sixty-four miracles were worked out in four successive yugas, that is, within the space of a Mahā-yuga.

The scene of all the Sports of the Lord having been Madurai, it follows that the discovery of the *liṅga* of the Lord at Madurai and the raising of a temple over it[4] and the worshipping of the *liṅga* by Indra's elephant[5] must have been the very earliest of them.

The next legend, in the chronicle, is about the birth of a princess to a Pāṇḍya king, Malayadhvaja,[6]— a princess who in

1. There are those who would find only one Nak-Kīrar among the personalities of the Śangam age and would make him the commentator on Iṟaiyaṉār's *Ahap-Poruḷ*: they assume also,— as is done by others as well,— that he was the author of the *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai*. The contemporary Pāṇḍya king of this Nak-Kīrar would then be the Neḍu-Māṟaṉ of the *Pāṇḍik-Kōvai*. But it is surprising that though this Neḍu-Māṟaṉ is credited in that poem with numerous victories, the Battle of Kūḍal does not figure among them. It must follow that the Nak-Kīrar who eulogised the Pāṇḍya of the Battle of Kūḍal is different from the Nak-Kīrar of the days of Neḍu-Māṟaṉ.

2. The Legends of this class are Nos. 12-4, 23-5, 31-6, 40-2, 45, 50, 58-9, 60, 63.

3. In the section on 'The Glory of the City'.

4. Legend 1 5. Legend 2 6. Legend 3

due time became the consort of the Lord,— but apart from the fact that numerous kings are said to have preceded that king there is no hint as to the period in which he flourished. We cannot therefore, presume that chronologically this legend followed immediately after the first two miracles.

To the difficulties which result from the absence of any chronological indications whatsoever are added the difficulties which flow from the indefiniteness of such chronological hints as are given and the further difficulties resulting from the abandonment of the chronological scheme suggested early in the chronicle that the miracles were worked out at the rate of sixteen in a yuga. A legend which appears late in the chronicle relates to the discovery of the temple of Madurai by a human being and the determination of the bounds of the city, but these events are said to have taken place 'once upon a time'.[1] We are therefore left to depend merely on our own estimate of the probabilities. The discovery of the temple having first been made by Indra and then by his elephant the next step obviously is its discovery by men and the marking out of the city-limits:[2] this legend may therefore be taken to be the third in chronological sequence. From this miracle it must have been a long way indeed to the miracle of the re-determination of the ancient limits of the city:[3] but we find it placed at the dawn of a new age after the close of a Brahma-kalpa. Obviously, the earlier legend must stand assigned to atleast the Brahma-kalpa which had just then come to a close. These miracles must therefore have taken place in different Brahma-kalpas and any chronological scheme for the miracles must therefore be framed as much in terms of Brahma-kalpas as in terms of mere yugas. This is not a solitary instance of the miracles being dated expressly in terms of kalpas: the legend of the poets Kāri and Nāri is assigned to an indefinite time in an indefinite kalpa[4] and the legend of the Lord teaching the Vedas to the Ṛṣis is placed at the beginning of the first of the four yugas of the fifth Mahā-yuga of this Brahma-kalpa.[5] In these legends the chronicler negatives unequivocally the suggestion already referred to,— that all the sixty-four miracles were performed within the limits of one Mahā-yuga. The only

1. Legend 53 (1) 2. Legend 53 3. Legend 47
4. Legend 52 5. Legend 64

way of reconciling these different statements is to assume that in a Mahā-yuga or cycle of four yugas the Lord works out the full tale of the sixty-four miracles, and that as Mahā-yuga succeeds to Mahā-yuga the Lord patiently repeats over and over again the same sixty-four miracles. However much these assumptions might accord with or be necessitated by the tenets of certain theological schools, they have no value whatsoever to the historian. Nor do the assumptions help us to understand why the chronicler should speak of different kalpas when all the miracles could be boxed up into one Mahā-yuga. Perhaps the stanza in which the miracles are sought to be compressed into the limits of a cycle of four yugas is after all an interpolation, but, even so, the task of the chronologist does not become easier, for he has then to go roaming over numerous kalpas in hopes of discovering clues which would help to settle the sequence of the miracles. We are thus driven again to rely on our sense of probabilities for determining the sequence.

The discovery of the temple and the fixing of the city-limits were perhaps followed immediately by the Lord assuming the sovereignty of Madurai as king Sundara: the cycle of miracles connected with king Sundara[1] would then have to be placed next after the miracle which, we have already seen, must have been the third.

Immediately after these must be placed the miracle of the quelling of the sea, for it happened in the days of Ugra-Pāṇḍya, the son of king Sundara.[2]

Two other miracles,—the defeat of Indra[3] and the overthrow of Mount Mēru,[4]—must, *prima facie*, be assigned to this same period, the chronicler not having suggested that some one other than Ugra-Pāṇḍya was the Lord's chosen instrument in working out these miracles.[5] When, however, the chronicler came to the narration of the two legends, he failed to link up the former with Ugra[6] and he made it clear that the latter was worked in the days of a decendant of Ugra.[7] We are not in a position to determine the reasons which induced the chronicler to dissociate the miracles from Ugra: pehaps, the chronicler took it that the three gifts of the Lord

1. Legends 3-11
2. Legend 21
3. Legend 44
4. Legend 61
5. Legend 11
6. Legend 44
7. Legend 61 (1)

were gifts to Ugra's dynasty and not to Ugra alone and that they were not to be exhausted by Ugra. This is not the only difficulty in fixing the chronological position of these two miracles. In the account of the former miracle we have an incident,—that of Nak-Kīraṟ composing the *Tiru-Muruhu-Āṟṟup-paḍai*,[1]—which suggests that the legend may have to be associated with the cycle of tales about the Academy and classed chronologically with them, but as the incident is not found narrated in some of the manuscripts the implied association looks improbable. Further, we have a stanza in this canto which imputes this miracle to the reign of a Vīra-Māṟaṉ (that is, 'Hero-Pāṇḍya'[2]), but it is open to considerable doubt whether the word *Vīra* is used here as a proper name or as a mere adjective: if it is a proper name, the miracle cannot be attributed to the period of Ugra-Pāṇḍya in the face of a specific ascription to Vīra-Māṟaṉ. In connection with another legend too we have a similar doubt as to whether it could be attributed to Vīra-Pāṇḍya,[3] but in a third legend the poet has made it absolutely clear that he refers to a king who bore the name Vīra-Māṟaṉ.[4] We are thus forced to determine the sequence of the miracles concerning the Academies and those which could be referred to the days of Vīra-Pāṇḍya.

The legend of the quelling of the sea[5] closes with two interesting stanzas,— the penultimate one chronicling how after the victory the Lord had a Hall built for the Academy and how he remained in it among the hallelujahs of the poets, and the last stanza stating that the first two Academies were housed in that Hall and that the 'future' Academy would be on the banks of the Gaṅgā— traditionally equated to the Golden Lily Tank in the temple of Madurai. Except for this solitary reference to three Academies, nowhere else in the chronicle do we find the faintest suggestion of more than one Academy: the last stanza speaking of the 'future' Academy becomes very much suspect in consequence. We have already seen that the legend of the victory over Indra[6] contains an account, according to some manuscripts, of how Nak-Kīraṉ came to compose his *Tiru-Muruhu-Āṟṟup-paḍai.* The chronological position of this

1. Legend 44
2. Legend 44 (42)
3. Legend 39 (2)
4. Legend 43 (5)
5. Legend 21
6. Legend 44

miracle will be determined if only we can arrive at correct findings on two questions of fact,— whether the stanza about the three Academies and the stanzas about the composition of the *Tiru-Muruhu-Āṟṟup-paḍai* are genuine,— that is, whether the chronicler had three Academies in mind and whether Nak-Kīraṉ is to be assigned to the period of the miracle of Indra's defeat.

If we admit the genuineness of all these stanzas, we admit three Academies but we do not know to which of them Nak-Kīraṉ belonged: for aught we can gather from this chronicle he might have belonged to any one of the three. If we decide against the genuineness of all the stanzas, we have evidence of only one Academy, but that Academy does not stand related chronologically either to the legend of Indra's defeat or to the tale of the composition of Nak-Kīraṉ's hymn on Muruhaṉ. To reject the stanza relating to the three Academies, while accepting the stanzas about the *Tiru-Muruhu-Āṟṟup-paḍai,* would lead to the miracle of the victory over Indra being linked up with the other legends about the Academy and possibly also with the legend of the quelling of the sea. To accept the former and reject the latter would lead to the result that while three Academies are admitted it is impossible to show that either Nak-Kīraṉ's poetic effort or Indra's defeat is chronologically related to any of the three Academies.

It may perhaps be worth pointing out at this stage that none of these four possibilities squares with the popular beliefs now current about the Tamil Academies, based as they are largely on the Preface to the Comment on Iṟaiyaṉār's *Ahap-Poruḷ.* The possibility which takes us nearest to the popular beliefs is the first,— namely, that all the stanzas are genuine. But, even so, there is no reason to allot Nak-Kīraṉ to the last of the Academies and there is not even a distant allusion in the Comment on Iṟaiyaṉār's *Ahap-Poruḷ* to the story of the composition of the *Tiru-Muruhu-Āṟṟup-paḍai.*

Apart from arguments based on the account of the Academies in Iṟaiyaṉār's *Ahap-Poruḷ,* it must be noted that the stanza mentioning the three Academies runs counter to the whole tenor of the chronicle: nowhere else does the chronicle contemplate more than one Academy. The story of Nak-Kīraṉ composing the *Tiru-Muruhu-Āṟṟup-paḍai* looks wholly out of place in the legend in which it is found embedded in some of the manuscripts: no connection can be traced between this story and the

main legend. The circumstance that the stanzas recounting the incident are not to be found in some of the manuscripts is not devoid of significance. Even more significant is the fact that none of the later chronicles,— not even that of Param-jyōti,— mentions the incident. These considerations compel us to arrive at a finding against the genuineness of the stanzas in question. They are obviously interpolations by a much later hand. We have to conclude that the chronicler had only one Academy in mind, that he did not know of three Academies and that he said nothing about Nak-Kīraṉ having written the *Tiru-Muruhu-Āṟṟup-paḍai* or about the circumstances surrounding its composition.

It follows therefore that from the account of the legend of the sea[1] must be omitted the last stanza foreshadowing the Academy of the 'future' and that from the account of the legend of the victory over Indra[2] must be excised all reference to Nak-Kīraṉ and his hymn. Once the interpolations are removed, it becomes patent that the chronicler has let fall no hint, however faint, as to the relative chronological positions of the two miracles.

Two circumstances, however, cannot be ignored. Indra's defeat has to stand removed by some distance of time from the overthrow of Mount Mēru,[3] a miracle which has been specifically assigned by the chronicler to the days of a descendant of Ugra.[4] It is impossible to find for the former miracle a place lower down, as will be evident from the discussion that follows. The limits being thus fixed, we cannot do better than place Indra's defeat[5] immediately after the quelling of the sea.[6]

If we assumed that in the legend of the victory over Indra[7] the chronicler used the word *Vira* as a noun and not as an adjective, we shall have to associate with it the two other legends allotted to the reign of a Vīra-Pāṇḍya,— namely, the legend of the general who misapplied military funds to building temples[8] and the legend of the Lord doling out water to soldiers engaged in a fierce battle.[9] But the assumption being unwarranted, the sequence is not established.

1. Legend 21
2. Legend 44
3. Legend 61
4. Stanza 1
5. Legend 44
6. Legend 21
7. Legend 44
8. Legend 39
9. Legend 43

We may now ask ourselves what the position is of the miracles dated in the different kalpas. The legend of the poets Kāri and Nāri[1] may be placed among the earlier of them, and the miracle of the redetermination of the bounds of Madurai may come next as it is placed at the dawn of a new kalpa.[2] The miracle of the ṛṣis being taught the Vedas[3] is located early in the kalpa now current; so, just immediately before it we may place the legend of the overthrow of Mount Mēru:[4] this arrangement removes the miracle sufficiently from the days of Ugra-Pāṇḍya.

The account of the quelling of the sea[5] would seem to contain another chronological hint: in the penultimate stanza we are told that Ugra built a Hall for the Academy. In the first legend[6] of the Academy-cycle we learn that the Academicians desired to be seated in due order in the Hall of the Academy and that when they obtained the board which could sense poetry they laid it in the middle of the Hall. The miracles of this cycle must therefore be later than the miracle on the conclusion of which the Hall of the Academy was built. How much later the miracles must be cannot now be easily determined: that Ugra built a Hall for an Academy cannot lead us to the inference that Nak-Kīraṉ and his contemporaries belonged to his age. In one of the legends of the Academy-cycle,— that of Iḍaik-kāḍaṉ,[7]— the Lord is said to have deserted His temple and betaken Himself to a place north of it which came to be called North Ālavāy: it follows then that the temple which the Lord temporarily deserted must have already been known as Ālavāy. The name Ālavāy, as has been already noticed, had come to be applied to Lord Sundara's permanent habitat, in the legend of a serpent helping a Pāṇḍya to rediscover the limits of Madurai.[8] We have therefore to assign the legends of the cycle of the Academy,[9] or, at any rate, the legend of Iḍaik-kāḍaṉ,[10] to a period later than the one in which the name Ālavāy arises.[11]

One of the picturesque figures of the Academy is Rudra-Janman, and the circumstances which led to his birth are set out

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1. Legend 52
2. Legend 47
3. Legend 64
4. Legend 61
5. Legend 21
6. Legend 15
7. Legend 20
8. Legend 47
9. Legends 15-20
10. Legend 20
11. Legend 47

in a legend.[1] This legend, foreshadowing as it does the advent of Rudra-Janman, must be earlier than the legends dealing with the Academy: and as we know of no miracle which could be placed earlier in this kalpa we may rank this legend next in order of time to the legend of the ṛṣis being taught the Vedas.[2]

In the first of the legends[3] of the Māṇikya-vācaka cycle, the Hall of the Academy is mentioned among the principal buildings of Madurai: the legends of this cycle must therefore be dated later than those of the Academy.[4]

That some other miracles, however, came between the two cycles seems to be evident.

Another of the interesting personalities sketched in the Chronicle is Jñāna-sambandha.[5] The chronicler makes him out to have been a contemporary of Vāgīśa or Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu,[6] who has referred, in one of his numerous hymns,[7] to the legend of the Lord securing a purse of gold for Darumi.[8] This legend, and, therefore, the other legends with which it forms a cycle,— the cycle of the Academy,[9]— must be earlier than Jñāna-sambandha. But in the last of the Māṇikya-vācaka legends[10] the chronicler makes the Pāṇḍya king who was Māṇikya-vācaka's master allude to a miracle performed by Śiva for the saint Śiṟut-toṇḍar.[11] This saint is said to be referred to by Jñāna-sambandha[12] in one of his hymns as his contemporary.[13] The legends of the Jñāna-sambandha cycle must therefore be placed before those of the Māṇikya-vācaka cycle.[14]

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1. Legend 22 2. Legend 64 3. Legend 27
4. Legends 15-20 5. Legends 37, 38, 62
6. Legend 37 (4, 9, 12)
7. நன் பாட்டுப் புலவனுய்ச் சங்க மேறி
நற் கனகக் கிழி தருமிக் கருளினேன் காண்.
Hymn புரிந்தமரர் on Tirup-Puttūr.
8. Legend 16 9. Legends 15-20
10. Legend 30 11. Stanza 52
12. செங்காட்டங் குடிமேய சிறுத்தொண்டன் பணிசெய்ய
செந்தண் பூம்புனல் பரந்த செங்காட்டாங்குடி மேய
வெந்த நீறணிமார்பன் சிறுத்தொண்டனவன் வேண்ட
வந்தண் பூங்கலிக்காழி யடிகளையே பரவுஞ்
சந்தங்கொள் சம்பந்தன் றமிழுரைப்போர் தக்கோரே.
Hymn பைங்கோட்டு on Tiruc-Śem-Kāṭṭam-guḍi.
13. Legends 37, 38, 62 14. Legends 27-30

The chronicler assigns two of the miracles to the kali yuga—that of a Cōḷa king being consigned to a watery grave[1] and that of Varaguṇa being given a peep into the world of Śiva.[2] They may therefore be ranked among the latest of the Sports. Another of the legends being dated in the reign of Varaguṇa's son,[3] it may be placed next in chronological sequence.

In working out this sequence we have confined ourselves to a consideration of the materials found in the Chronicle.[4] The order of a few more of the legends might be determined if we took note of some facts not contained between the two covers of the Chronicle,— facts of history the chronology of which is fairly well settled,— but for our present purpose, it is unnecessary to embark on that enquiry. We have succeeded in bringing no more than thirty-five out of the sixty-four legends into this chronological sequence and there can be no concealing the fact that our deductions are based more on a consideration of porbabilities than of fully verified facts.[5]

1. Legend 46 (32) 2. Legend 48 3. Legend 49

4. Except where mention is made of Darumi being referred to by Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu in one of his hymns. The chronicler refers in the legends of the Māṇikya-vācaka cycle to the various hymns composed by Māṇikya-vācaka. It is not therefore inappropriate to settle the sequence of one of the legends by reference to the hymn of Tiru-Nāvukku-Araśu.

5. When revising the proofs I notice that I could have emphasised my contention about the chronological ineptitudes of Perum-Paṟṟap-Puliyūr Nambi by drawing attention, in due place, to the fact that the reign of Ugra-Pāṇḍya is said to have extended over a period of sixteen years of the gods (Legend 11, st. 4).

IV

The chronicle of Param-jyōti narrates sixty-four legends most of which are almost identical in tenor with those narrated by Perum-Paṟṟap-Puliyūr Nambi. Some miracles chronicled by Perum-Paṟṟap-Puliyūr Nambi are omitted by Param-jyōti, and some others are split into distinct miracles,[1] and many of the legends are told with considerable variations.

A distinctive feature of Param-jyōti's chronicle requires special mention: the miracles are narrated by him in strictly chronological sequence and not in the haphazard fashion of

1. TABLE showing the Legends of PARAM-JYOTI corresponding to the Legends of PERUM-PARRAP-PULIYUR NAMBI.

PPPN	PJ	PPPN	PJ	PPPN	PJ	PPPN	PJ	PPPN	PJ
1	1	13	20	26	22	38	63	51	—
2	2	14	21	27	58	39	30	52	—
3	4	15	51	28	59	40	31	53	3
4	5	16	52	29	60	41	39	54	41
5	6	17	53	30	61	42	33	55	42
6	7	18	54	31	23	43	35	56	43
7	8	19	55	32	24	44	14	57	44
8	9	20	56	33	25	45	36	58	45
9	10	21	13	34	26	46	37	59	46
10	11	22	57	35	27	47	49	60	47
11	12	23	32	36	28	48	40	61	15
12	18	24	34		29	49	50	62	64
	19	25	17	37	62	50	38	63	48
								64	16

TABLE showing the Legends of PERUM-PARRAP-PULIYUR NAMBI corresponding to the legends of PARAM-JYOTI.

PJ	PPPN	PJ	PPPN	PJ	PPPN	PJ	PPPN	PJ	PPPN
1	1	14	44	27	35	40	48	53	17
2	2	15	61	28	36	41	54	54	18
3	53	16	64	29		42	55	55	19
4	3	17	25	30	39	43	56	56	20
5	4	18	12	31	40	44	57	57	22
6	5	19		32	23	45	58	58	27
7	6	20	13	33	42	46	59	59	28
8	7	21	14	34	24	47	60	60	29
9	8	22	26	35	43	48	63	61	30
10	9	23	31	36	45	49	47	62	37
11	10	24	32	37	46	50	49	63	38
12	11	25	33	38	50	51	15	64	62
13	21	26	34	39	41	52	16		

Perum-Parrap-Puliyūr Nambi. In narrating each legend Param-jyōti takes care to mention the name of the Pāṇḍya king in whose reign each miracle is assumed to have been worked, and he records, almost invariably, the relationship which that king bore to his predecessor and successor: it is thus possible to deduce from his chronicle a full succession-list of the Pāṇḍya dynasty and also a chronological scheme showing the order in which the miracles were performed by the Lord.[1]

1. KINGS OF MADURAI
(According to Param-jyōti's *Tiru-Viḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam.*)

	I BOOK OF MADURAI	
	Kṛta Yuga	
0[1]	——	1,[1] 2[1]
1	Kula-śēkhara	3
2	Malaya-dhvaja	4
3	Taṭātakā *md.* }	5-12
4	Sundara }	
5	Ugra (ஆரந்தாங்கு)	13-15
6	Vīra	16
7	Abhiṣēka	17, 18[2]
	II BOOK OF KUDAL	
7	Abhiṣēka	19,[2] 20,[2] 21
8	Vikrama	22, 23
9	Rāja-śēkhara[4]	24
10	Kulōttuṅga	25-27
11	Ananta-guṇa[5]	28, 29
12	Kula-bhūṣaṇa	30-32, 33,[2] 34,
13[3]	Rājēndra	35,[2] 36[2]
14	Rājēśa	
15	Rāja-gambhīra	
16	Pāṇḍya-vamśa-dīpa	
17	Purandara-jit	
18	Pāṇḍya-vamśa-patāka	
19	Sundarēśa-pāda-śēkhara	37, 38,[2] 39
20[3]	Vara-guṇa	40, 41, 42,[2] 43
21[3]	Rāja-rāja	44, 45,[2] 46[2]
22	Su-guṇa or Citra-mēru	47, 48
	III BOOK OF TIRU-ALAVAY	
23	Citra-ratha	
24	Citra-bhūṣaṇa	
25	Citra-dhvaja	
26	Citra-varma	
27	Citra-sēna	
28	Citra-vikrama	
29	Rāja-mārtāṇḍa	
30	Rāja-cūḍāmaṇi	
31	Rāja-śārdūla	
32	(Dvija) Rāja-Kulōttama	
33	Āyōdana-pravīṇa	
34	Rāja-kuñjara	
35	Para-rāja-bhayaṅkara	
36	Ugra-sēna	
37	Śatruñ-jaya	
38	Bhīma-ratha	
39	Bhīma-parākrama	
40	Pratāpa-mārtāṇḍa	
41	Vikrama-kañjuka	
42	Samara-kōlāhala	
43	Atula-vikrama	
44	Atula-kīrti	
45	Kīrti-bhūṣaṇa	
	Praḷaya (The Flood)	
46[3]	Vamśa-śēkhara	49-51
47[3]	Vamśa-cūḍāmaṇi *alias* Campaka	52, 53, 54[2], 55[2]
48	Pratāpa-sūrya	
49	Vamśa-dhvaja	
50	Ripu-mardana	
51	Cōla-vamśāntaka	
52	Cēra-vamśāntaka	
53	Pāṇḍya-vamśēśa	
54	Vamśa-śirōmaṇi	
55	Pāṇḍya-īśvara	
56	Kula-dhvaja	
57	Vamśa-bhūṣaṇa	

[1] No king's name mentioned.

[2] No king's name mentioned, but the context requires the Sport to be so assigned.

[3] The relationship of this king to the previously named king is not mentioned, but this king is clearly the previous king's immediate successor.

In all other cases, each king is the son of his predecessor (No. 3 is a queen and is the daughter of No. 2. No. 4 is Siva himself.)

[4] Contemporary of Karikāla-Cōla. [5] Contemporary of Sri-Rāma.

For our present purpose it is unnecessary to describe or summarise Param-jyōti's chronicle at length,[1] nor even is it necessary to set out how far each of his sixty-four legends differs from those of Perum-Paṟṟap-Puliyūr Nambi: it should be enough to point out the extent to which variations appear in the accounts of the legends relating to the Academies.

The fifty-first legend in Param-jyōti's chronicle states that when Vamśa-śēkhara Pāṇḍya was king, Brahmā performed ten aśvamēdha sacrifices at Benares, and that accompanied by his consorts Sarasvatī, Sāvitrī and Gāyatrī, he went to the Ganges for a bath. Sarasvatī having tarried on the way listening to the ravishing music of a Vidyādhara lady, Brahmā took his bath along with his other two wives. Sarasvatī remonstrating vehemently with Brahmā for not having waited for her, he pointed out to her that she was the party at fault and he laid on her the curse that she shall expiate her presumption by endless births in the world in human form. On Sarasvatī submitting that it was too hard a lot for Brahmā's consort, Brahmā was mollified, and he said, 'Out of the fifty-one Primary Letters making up your body, the forty-eight from *ā* to *hā* shall be born as forty-eight scholars: the Lord of Ālavāy (wherein dwell the three Tamils), being the Lord of even the letter *a* which associates with all the other letters and transmutes them according to their

58	Sōma-cūḍāmaṇi		66	Vikrama-bāhu	
59	Kula-cūḍāmaṇi		67	Parākrama-bāhu	
60	Rāja-cūḍāmaṇi		68	Su-ratha	
61	Bhūpa-cūḍāmaṇi		69	Kunkuma	
62	Kulēśa	56	70	Karpūra	
63	Ari-mardana	57[2], 58, 59[2], 60, 61	71	Kāruṇya	
			72	Puruṣōttama	
64	Jagan-nātha		73	Śatru-sādana	
65	Vīra-bāhu		74	Kubja *alias* Sundara	62-64

1. Summaries will be found in the following publications: W, Taylor, *Oriental Historical Manuscripts, in the Tamil Language*, (1835), i. 53-192; H. H. Wilson, in *JRAS*, (1836), iii. 199-242; and in *The Mackenzie Collection, a Descriptive Catalogue* (Madras Reprint, 1882), 45-7, 208-9; J. H. Nelson. *The Madura Country*, iii. 1-55; E. H. Brookes, in *Madras Review* (1900) vi. 61-66, 143-153, 253-265, (1901) vii. 82-93.

Succession Tables will be found in the following: W. Taylor, *op cit.*, passim; R. Sewell, *Lists of Inscriptions and Sketch of the Dynasties of South India*, (1884), ii. 214-221; Sir W. Elliott, *Coins of Southern India*, (1886) 128-3; M. Seshagiri-Sastri, *Tamil Literature*.

respective characteristics, will take the shape of a scholar, ascend and occupy the gem-set seat in the Academy, become the forty-ninth scholar, stand in the heart (of each of the other forty-eight), reveal the truth to them and protect their poesy'. The forty-eight letters were accordingly born as human beings: they became deeply versed in many branches of learning: they critically studied Sanskrit and the eighteen other languages and they attained an unrivalled mastery of Tamil. They wore not only gem-set jewels but also the holy *rudrākṣa*: they covered themselves with holy ashes: they worshipped Śiva with not only their strings of hymns but with garlands of fragrant flowers. Having gone from land to land vanquishing rivals they came to the fertile country watered by the Porunai (Tāmraparṇī) and advanced towards Madurai, the city blessed by the sceptre of the Pāṇḍya. The Lord appeared as a great scholar and asked them who they were: the forty-eight replied that they were scholars and were going to the land of the Porunai. The scholar invited the forty-eight to Madurai to worship the Lord, took them to Madurai and made them worship the Lord Sundara and then vanished. The Lord descending from on high, the scholars worshipped Him again and lauded Him in strings of psalms, and then went up to the Pāṇḍya king. Convinced that the forty-eight were patterns of scholarship and rectitude, the king loaded them with presents and built for them a Hall of Academy to the north-west of the temple of the Lord. Scholars who were natives of the land, jealous at the favours thus heaped on the forty-eight Academicians, engaged in disputations with them but were completely vanquished: scholars of other lands too were easily worsted. The Academicians then went up to the Lord who was the author of the Original Treatise and said, 'Many are they who come to us and engage us in disputations: so give unto us an Academical board with which we might weigh their scholarship'. The Lord appeared before them in the guise of a scholar, and, holding out a board to them, said, 'Here is a board two spans square: it is stainless like your intellects keen: it has magical qualities: for every one who is hoary with learning like you it will grow a cubit and afford a seat: thus will it be a measuring yard'. The forty-eight went round the temple with the board, entered the Academy and, setting the board down, worshipped it: Nak-Kīrar then seated himself on it; and Kabilar and Paraṇar followed him, and after them the rest of the Acade-

micians, and the Board kept growing till it accommodated all of them. The forty-eight engaged themselves in literary compositions. Their works were so uniform in the wealth and the richness of thought, in the maturity of expression and in the graces of poesy that hard indeed was it to distinguish the work of one poet from that of another, and in course of time differences arose among the forty-eight about the authorship of the respective pieces. The Lord then appeared before them, examined the various works and allotted them among the forty-eight with unerring accuracy. The forty-eight were so grateful that they invited the Lord to join them in the Academy and He acceded graciously to the request. While these forty-nine were engaged in further literary activities, Vamśa-sēkhara had his son Vamśa-cūḍāmaṇi crowned and then he departed this life. In this chronicle the legend closes here: it contains nothing whatsoever about Iṟaiyaṉār's work on *Poruḷ*.

The next legend tells how Vamśa-cūḍāmaṇi made provision for a garden where flowers could be grown for the Lord Sundara and also a garden where *campaka* flowers could be raised for the Lord, how the Pāṇḍya had the Lord decked with *campaka* flowers and how in consequence the Lord came to be called Campaka-Sundara and the king came to be called Campaka Pāṇḍya. Then follows the story of Darumi obtaining the purse of gold, with some variations from the tale as narrated by Perum-Paṟṟap-Puliyūr Nambi. None of the deviations is of any importance except that the question propounded to Nak-Kīrar about the fragrance of a lady's tresses refers to the tresses of Nak-Kīrar's patron deity Ñāna-pūm-kōdai of Kalahasti and not to those of Gaurī or Cit-puṣpa-kēśī of Madurai.

The next legend narrates how Nak-Kīrar was helped out of the tank by the Lord: the only variation of importance is that the poems sung by Nak-Kīrar to mollify the Lord were not only the *andādi* on Kailāsa and Kalahasti but also the poems known as the *Kōbap-Piraśādam*, the *Perum-Dēva-Pāṇi* and the *Tiru-Eḻu-kūṟṟu-irukkai*.

In the next legend we have the tale of Kīraṉ being taught grammar: the only additions of note are that Agastya is said to have been accompanied by his wife Lōpāmudrā when he went on his southern expedition and when he appeared before the Lord in response to the summons to teach grammar to Nak-

Kīrar, and that the Treatise taught by the Lord to Agastya and then by the Lord to Nak-Kīrar was the Original Treatise.

In the following legend we have the story of Rudra-Janmaṉ, but the version in this work differs in a few essential particulars from that adopted by Perum-Paṟṟap-Puliyūr Nambi: the scholars composed poems and not commentaries on Iṟaiya-ṉār's grammar: the Lord had to adjudicate on the merits of the poems and not the commentaries: the mute youth bore no name: his parents were known as Dhanapati and Guṇaśālinī: nothing is said of his being Śaravaṇa-Guha: the Academicians seated him on the academical board and not on a lion-throne.

In the next legend, that of Iḍaik-kāḍaṉ, the only two important additions are that there was a long interval between Campaka-Pāṇḍya and Kulēśa-Pāṇḍya, the king of the times of Iḍaik-kāḍaṉ, that a number of kings ruled over the Pāṇḍya country in the interval and that Kulēśa was well versed in both literature and grammar.

THE TAITTIRĪYASARVĀNUKRAMAṆĪ OF YĀSKA.*

BY

DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA, M. A., D. PHIL., (OXON.)

Reader in Sanskrit, University of Madras.

Till now, only one work of Yāska was known and that is the Nirukta. Wherever there is a reference to Yāska, it was taken as a reference to the author of the Nirukta. There are many references to Yāska in the Bṛhaddevatā. Many of them cannot be traced to the Nirukta; many of them are opposed to the statements in the Nirukta. Yet no one has shown that there might be another Yāska, or another work of Yāska.

Recently I came across a work[1] which gives a large number of quotations from the Sarvāmukramaṇī of the Taittirīyasaṃhitā by Yāska. No such work was known till now. The Sarvānukramaṇī of the Vājasaneyisaṃhitā by Kātyāyana alone is known and not of the Taittirīyasaṃhitā by Yāska. None of these quotations is traceable to the Sarvānukramaṇī of the Vājasaneyisaṃhitā.

There is a reference to Yāska in Piṅgala's Chandassūtras.[2] This reference is traceable to its source through one of the quotations found in the work which I came across.[3] I give below all the quotations from the Sarvānukramaṇī of the Taittirīyasaṃhitā by Yāska found in this work.

1. तदुक्तं यजुर्वेदसर्वानुक्रमणीकृता यास्केन—
देवासुराणां छन्दांसि यानि यानि प्रजापतेः ।

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* This paper was announced to be read at the 18th session of the International Congress of Orientalists held at Leyden in September, 1931. But as I could not proceed to attend the Congress, I did not submit the paper.

1. A Commentary on the Chandas portion of the Nidāna-sūtras by Hṛṣīkeśa *alias* Pettā-śāstrin.

2. Pingala's chandas. उरोबृहती यास्कस्य III. 30 (B. I. Ed.)

3. Cf. quotation No. 9. below.

*तानि त्वार्षवर्गस्य विद्यादवयवान् पृथक् ॥[1]

2. तदुक्तं यजुर्वेदसर्वानुक्रमणीकृता यास्केन—

*छन्दोभिरार्षै रेतैर्ऋचः श्लोकाश्च वैदिकाः ।

लौकिकाश्च प्रवर्तन्ते पादाश्चैष्वेव संहिता ॥[2]

3. यथाह यजुर्वेदसर्वानुक्रमणीकारः—आ नवाक्षरतायाः प्रतिक्रामति यदि वा दधे यदि वा नेति । इति ॥[3]

4. अष्टाक्षरस्योदाहरणं यजुर्वेदसर्वानुक्रमणीकारो यास्क आह । तद्यथा—अष्टाक्षरतायाः क्वचिदृश्यते—अपैतु मृत्युरमृतम्[4] । इति ॥[5]

5. उक्तश्च यजुर्वेदसर्वानुक्रमणीकारयास्केन—सप्तकैस्त्रिभिः सा पादनिचृत् । इति ॥[6]

6. तदुक्तं तत्सर्वानुक्रमणीकृता—तृतीयश्चेत् पुरउष्णिक् ॥[7]

7. तदाह तत्सर्वानुक्रमणीकारः—विराड्द्वादशकाभ्यामष्टाक्षरेण चैकेन त्रिपदा । इति ॥[8]

8. यथाह यजुर्वेदसर्वानुक्रमणीकारः—तृतीयो द्वादशाक्षरः पथ्या । इति ॥[9]

9. तदाह तत्सर्वानुक्रमणीकारो यास्कः—द्वितीयश्चेत् स्कन्धोग्रीवी क्रौष्टुकेः । उरोबृहती वा स्यात्[10] । इति ॥[11]

10. आहतुः पिङ्गलनागयजुर्वेदसर्वानुक्रमणीकारौ—तद्यथा सतोबृहती ताण्डिनः । इति ॥[12]

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* The metre is defective.

1. Page 22 in the Adyar Library Transcript XXXVIII, H. 17.
2. *Ibid*. p. 23.
3. *Ibid*. p. 59.
4. Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa. 3.7.14.4. The third pāda has only eight syllables.
5. Adyar Library Transcript p. 61.
6. *Ibid*. p. 109.
7. *Ibid*. p. 118.
8. *Ibid*. p. 133.
9. *Ibid*. p. 140.
10. Pingala quoted above. n. 2. p. 215.
11. Adyar Library Transcript p. 142.
12. *Ibid*. p. 149.

11. यथाह तत्सर्वानुक्रमणीकारः—त्रिभिर्द्वादशकैर्महाबृहती । इति ॥[1]

12. यथा तत्सर्वानुक्रमणीकारः—पथ्या पञ्चभिरष्टाक्षरैः । इति ॥[2]

13. यथाह तत्सर्वानुक्रमणीकारः—अयुजौ चेत् द्वादशाक्षरपादौ सतःपङ्क्तिः । इति ॥[3]

14. यजुर्वेदसर्वानुक्रमणीकारश्च—युजौ चेद्विपरीता । इति ॥[4]

15. यथाह यजुर्वेदसर्वानुक्रमणीकारः—अक्षरपङ्क्तिश्चत्वारो द्वौ वैको वा पञ्च वा ।[5]

16. यजुर्वेदसर्वानुक्रमण्याम्—द्वादशिनस्त्रयोऽष्टाक्षराश्च जगती ज्योतिष्मती । सापि त्रिष्टुबिति शौनकः । इति वचनात् ॥[6]

17. तदुक्तं यजुर्वेदसर्वानुक्रमणीकृता—द्वादशाक्षरस्त्रयोऽष्टकाश्च जगती ज्योतिष्मती । इति ॥[7]

18. यथाह तत्सर्वानुक्रमणीकारः—विराड् द्विपदाष्टकद्वादशकाभ्याम् । इति ॥[8]

In 1, 2, 4 and 5, Yāska is mentioned as the author of the Sarvānukramaṇī of Yajurveda. In 3, 8, 10, 14, 15 and 17 there is a reference to the author of the Sarvānukramaṇī of Yajurveda; but it is not specified who the author is. In 16, there is a reference to the Sarvānukramaṇī of Yajurveda. In 6, 7, 11, 12, 13 and 18 there is a reference to the author of the Sarvānukramaṇī of "that" (तत्). And in 9, there is mention of Yāska as the author of the Sarvānukramaṇī of "that" (तत्). In all these cases तत् refers to the Taittirīya-śākhā, as in all the seven cases the Taittirīya-śākhā is mentioned in the immediately preceding passage, as :—

1. Adyar Library Transcript p. 149.
2. *Ibid.* p. 156.
3. *Ibid.* p. 157.
4. *Ibid.* p. 158.
5. *Ibid.* p. 179.
6. *Ibid.* p. 183.
7. *Ibid.* p. 191.
8. *Ibid.* p. 201.

तैत्तिरीयाश्च द्विपदा विराज इत्याहुः ।
यथाह तत्सर्वानुक्रमणीकारः ।[1]

From 16, it is found that Yāska knew the works of Śaunaka. The statement of Yāska in 9—according to Krauṣṭuki, it is Skandhogrīvī; it may be Urobṛhatī also—is referred to by Piṅgala[2].

The above quotations are found in the Adyar Library copy[3] of Pettā-śāstrin's work mentioned in para 2 supra.

In the introductory stanzas[4] which Mādhavabhaṭṭa, son of Veṅkaṭārya, adds to the various Adhyāyas in his Bhāṣya of the Ṛg-veda, he mentions Yāska and some of the references cannot be traced to the Nirukta. The references are:—

1. त्यान्नु क्षत्रियाँ अव सूक्तं वृद्धोपदेशतः ।
मत्स्यानां जालबद्धानामार्षं यास्कोऽब्रवीदिति ॥[5]

2. एवं च हुतभागग्निः प्रयाजेष्विति मन्यते ।
तमेव प्राग्वषट्कारात् ज्ञेयं यस्ककुलोद्भव ॥[6]

There are many references to Yāska in the Bṛhaddevatā. I give below all the references, with my own remarks—

1. चतुर्भ्य इति तत्राहुर्यास्कगार्ग्यरथीतरौ ।[7]

This quotation follows the questions—कतिभ्यस्तु कर्मभ्यो नाम जायते । Various opinions are given. नवभ्य इति नैरुक्ताः and then the above quotation follows. Here Yāska is contrasted with the Nairuktas. The view ascribed to Yāska is not found in the Nirukta.

2. पुरुषादःपदं यास्को वृक्षेवृक्ष इति त्वृचि ।[8]

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1. Adyar Library Transcript p. 201.
2. Cf. quotation above, n. 2. p. 215.
3. XXXIV. A. 1. There is a transcript in Devanāgari. XXXVIII. H. 17 to which the above references are given.
4. These Kārikās are being published by me from the University of Madras.
5. Kārikā. V. i, 28.
6. Kārikā. VII. v, 9.
7. I. 26.
8. II. 6.

Here it is said that the word पुरुषादः was explained by Yāska as two words in Ṛg-veda X, 27-22. But there is nothing in the Nirukta to justify the criticism. पुरुषान् अदनाय is the explanation of Yāska in the Nirukta[1].

3. मन्यन्ते यास्ककात्थक्याविन्द्रस्येति तु भागुरिः ।[2]

This has reference to Ṛg-veda I. 22. 1—4. Yāska says nothing about these Ṛks in the Nirukta.

4. शुनासीरं यास्क इन्द्रं तु मेने ।[3]

Here Yāska is said to have explained शुनासीर as इन्द्र. There is nothing in the Nirukta to suggest such an opinion for Yāska, the author of the Nirukta. This is his explanation: शुनासीरौ । शुनो वायुः । शु एत्यन्तरिक्षे । सीर आदित्यः सरणात् । [4]. This corresponds to what Bṛhaddevatā gives just before the opinion assigned to Yāska:

वायुः शुनः सूर्य एवात्र सीरः
शुनासीरौ वायुसूर्यौ वदन्ति ।[5]

This is the opinion which Bṛhaddevatā ascribes to the commentators. And then the opinion of Yāska is given:—

शुनासीरं यास्क इन्द्रं तु मेने ।

This does not agree with Nirukta.

5. यास्कस्तु पूषणं मेने ।[6]

This is with reference to Ṛg-veda V. 42. 14, which is not explained in the Nirukta.

6. यास्कस्तृचं त्वेतं मन्यते वैश्वदेवतम् ।[7]

This is with reference to Ṛg-veda VIII. 65. 10-12, which are not explained in the Nirukta.

7. आचार्यः शौनको यास्कः ।[8]

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1. II. 6.
2. III. 100.
3. V. 8.
4. X. 40.
5. V. 8.
6. V, 40.
7. VI. 87.
8. VII. 38.

This is with reference to Ṛg-veda X. 36. 32-14, which are not considered in the Nirukta.

8. अन्त्यं यास्कस्तु मन्यते ।[1]

Here, Ṛg-veda X. 59. 4 is assigned to Nirṛti. The next is assigned to Asunīti:—

असुनीतेः स्तुतिः परे ।[2]

Then we find in the Bṛhaddevatā the statement:—

द्वृचे त्वानुमतं पादमन्त्यं यास्कस्तु मन्यते ।[3]

The last pāda in Ṛg-veda X. 59. 6 is:—

अनुमते मृळया नः स्वस्ति ।

According to the statement in the Bṛhaddevatā, Yāska assigns this pāda to Anumati. But this stanza is not explained in the Nirukta.

9. संवादं मन्यते यास्कः ।[4]

This is with reference to Ṛg-veda X. 95. Yāska says nowhere in Nirukta that this is a Saṃvādasūkta.

10. ऐन्द्राग्नं मन्यते यास्कः ।[5]

This is with reference to Ṛg-veda X. 161, which is not noticed in the Nirukta.

11. बह्वीनां सन्निपातस्तु यस्मिन् मन्त्रे प्रदृश्यते ।
आचार्यौ यास्कशाण्डिल्यौ वैश्वदेवं तदाहतुः ॥[6]

This may be compared with Yāska's statement:—

...यत्तु किंचिद्बहुदैवतं तद्वैश्वदेवानां स्थाने युज्यते ।[7] ।

12. इयं शुष्मेभिरित्येतां मेने यास्कस्तु सप्तमम् ।[8]

Yāska assigns this mantra to Sarasvatī as a River. His words in the Nirukta are:—

....यद्देवतावत्तदुपरिष्टाद्व्याख्यास्यामः । अथैनन्नदीवत् ।[9]

1. VII. 93.
2. VII. 92.
3. VII. 93.
4. VII. 153.
5. VIII. 65.
6. II. 132.
7. XII. 40.
8. II. 137.
9. II. 23.

इयं शुष्मेभिः etc. etc.[1]

13. मन्यते मध्यमं चैव यास्कोऽग्निं न तु पार्थिवम् ।[2]

Yāska says in the Nirukta:—कमन्यं मध्यमादेवमवक्ष्यत् ।[3]

14. आदित्यं मन्यते यास्को हविषेति सहस्तुतम् ।[4]

This may be compared with the words of Nirukta:—चायिता आदित्यः ।[5]

15. त्विन्द्रं मेने इह यास्कः प्रधानम् ।[6]

This is with reference to Ṛg-veda I. 132. 6. This is not noticed in the Nirukta.

16. इतिहासमिदं सूक्तमाहतुर्यास्कभागुरी ।[7]

This is with reference to Ṛg-veda VIII. 91, which is not explained in the Nirukta.

17. इतिहासमिमं यास्कः ।[8]

In the Nirukta we read:—तत्रेतिहासमाचक्षते ।[9]

18. यास्कौपमन्यवौ ।[10]

This is with reference to the expression पञ्चजनाः ।

In the Nirukta we read:—गन्धर्वाः पितरो देवा असुरा रक्षांसीत्येके। चत्वारो वर्णा निषादः पञ्चमः इत्यौपमन्यवः ।[11] Here Yāska does not give his own opinion. We may assume that he accepts the explanation of Aupamanyava. But the statement of Bṛhaddevatā is quite different. According to Bṛhaddevatā the opinion: निषादपञ्चमा वर्णाः[12] is held by Śākaṭāyana, and Yāska holds the opinion:—मनुष्याः पितरो देवा गन्धर्वोरगराक्षसाः ।[13]

1. II. 24.
2. III. 76.
3. X. 36.
4. III. 102.
5. V. 24.
6. IV. 4.
7. VI. 107.
8. VII. 7.
9. XII. 10.
10. VII. 69.
11. III. 8.
12. VII. 69.
13. VII. 68.

But in the Nirukta, Yāska gives this as the opinion of "some" (एके).

19. यास्को द्रौघणमैन्द्रं वा ।[1]

This may be compared with the statement in the Nirukta: द्रुघणो द्रुमयो घनः । तदभिवादिन्येषर्ग् भवति ।[2]

Thus it will be found that out of the nineteen[3] references in the Bṛhaddevatā to Yāska, only a very few has any correspondence to the Nirukta. Many of them can have no place in the Nirukta and some of them are in contradiction to the statements in the Nirukta. It is quite possible that most of these references are to the Sarvānukramaṇī of the Taittirīyasaṃhitā by Yāska from which Petta Śāstrin quotes.

I must here add that the difficulty in correlating the references to Yāska found in the Bṛhaddevatā with Yāska's Nirukta has already been recognised by Macdonell in his edition of the Bṛhaddevatā. Skold has dealt with the point more elaborately in his book on Nirukta and he confesses that he has not been more fortunate in solving the difficulty. He suggests that the references may be to another recension of the Nirukta.

There is a Sarvānukramaṇī for the Ātreyaśākhā of the Yajurveda, which has been noticed by Max Müller in his History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature[4]. Yāska is mentioned here as one of the Ṛṣis through whom this Śākhā was handed down[5]. This Sarvānukramaṇī (published in Indische Studien Vol. III. by Weber) is different from the work of Yāska from which Petta Śāstrin is quoting.

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1. V. 11.
2. X. 23.
3. I have ignored one reference.
4. p. 222.
5. *Ibid* p. 223.

NOTEWORTHY CONTENTS IN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

ANNALS OF THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE.

VOL. XI. PARTS ii TO iv.

1. *The place of the Āryasatyas and Pratītyasamutpāda in Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna*: Dr. Nalinākṣa Dutt, Ph. D. (Cal.), D. Litt. (Lond.).

2. *Slow progress of Islam power in Ancient India*: Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph. D.—Part II. The author concludes his article in this no., summarising the reasons why the Muhammadans could not establish an Islam empire over the country.

3. *Śāntarakṣita's reference to Kumārila's attacks on Sāmantabhadra and Akalaṅkadeva*: Dr. K. B. Pathak, B. A., Ph. D.

4. V. S. Sukthamkar continues his '*Epic studies*', in his second instalment—' Further Text-critical notes'.

5. *A peep into Ancient Indian Sociology*: Dr. R. Sham Sastri.

6. *Bengal's contribution to Samskṛt Literature*: Chintāharan Chakravarti, M.A. In this "choronological frame-work" the author, divides the literary history of Bengal into five periods, the Pre-Pāla period, the Pāla period, the Sena period, the Muhammadan period and the British period. The author mentions Sandhyākara Nandin's Rāmacarita as the only Kāvya work of the Pāla dynasty. It may be mentioned here that another Kāvya of the same name, by Abhinanda was produced in the same age and published by Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Śiromaṇi, in the Gaekwads' Oriental Series.

7. *Epic studies*: V. S. Suktamkar. Part III.

8. *The Grammar of the Gītā—A vindication*: B. N. Krishnamurthi Sarma. A criticism of Prof. V. K. Rajvade's article on the Gītā that it could not be regarded as one of the best poems of the world.

9. *Proof of Possession under the Smṛtis*: Dr. Amareśwar Thakur M.A., Ph. D.

10. *Dravidian culture*: Dr. R. Sham Sastri, B. A., Ph. D. The author draws a true picture of the religious and social life

of the Vedic Aryans, in order to clarify the issues connected with the theory of the bifurication of the Aryan and Dravidian cultures.

VOL. XII. PARTS i TO iii.

1. *Forms of Government in Ancient India*: Dr. R. Sham Sastri.

2. *Economical Philosophy of the Ancient Indians*: Dr. R. Sham Sastri.

3. *Was Kautsa a Sceptic ?*: Prof. K.M. Shembaronekar, M.A. This article refers the theory that Kautsa was heterodox and establishes his orthodoxy.

4. *Historical data in the Drama 'Kaumudīmahotsava'*: K. P. Jayaswal, M. A. This enthusiastic article extracts these theories out of the drama Kaumudīmahotsava, published in the Dakṣiṇa Bhārati Sanskrit Series. The theories are—

a. Kiśorikā is the name of the authoress of this drama.

b. In style, this drama belongs to the School of Bhāsa, though chronologically, it is nearer Kālidāsa's time than that of Bhāsa.

c. It is earlier than Viśākhadatta's Mudrā-Rākṣasa.

d. This drama restores a missing link in Gupta History.

5. *Apotheosis in the Ṛg-veda. The Ṛbhus*: (continued from Vol. VIII, p. 182): Sītānāth Pradhān.

6. *Śaṅkara on the limit of empirical knowledge*: Satīndrakumar Mukerji, M.A.

7. *Dharmakīrti's Trilakṣaṇa Hetu*: Dr. K. B. Pathak.

8. *Indian Studies. No. 2. Aryan Immigration into Eastern India*: D. R. Bhandarkar.

9. *Kumārila's verses attacking the Jain and Buddhistic notions of an Omniscient Being*: Dr. K. B. Pathak.

10. *The problem of knowledge and the four Schools of Later Buddhism*: Durgacaran Chatterji.

11. *Jinendrabudhhi, Kaiyaṭa and Haradatta*: Dr. K. B. Pathak. The author establishes that Kaiyaṭa is to be assigned to the close of the 11th century and Haradatta to the 13th century.

The Arctic Regions in the Ṛg-Veda: D. R. Mankad, M.A. The author refutes the statements of Dr. Das in his "Ṛg-Vedic India" and tries to prove that the Vedic people were definitely acquainted with the circumpolar regions.

INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

1931 January—August.

1. *Dravidic Miscellany*: L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar, M.A., B.L.

2. *On the modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars*: Sir George A. Grierson, in April, June and August isssues.

3. *A Note on the Ten plays of Bhāsa*: R. T. Jatagirdar, M.A. The author classifies 10 of the so called Bhāsa dramas into 2 groups the first group being earlier and the latter group being imitative. He also grants that the Svapna, Pratijñā and Pratimā nāṭakas are the works of one and the same author.

4. *Possible origin of the Caste system in India*: Biren Bonerjea. D. Litt. (Paris.) In this instalment, the writer defines caste and considers the 'Occupational,' 'Somatological' and 'Totemic' theories of the origin of caste in India. The article is continued in the April number and the author concludes his thesis in the May number with the statement—'caste is not an Anthropological Division, but is the outcome of primitive superstitions.'

5. *The staging of the Viddhasālabhañjikā*: Daśarath Śarma, M.A. The author says that the drama was staged at the Court of Keyūra Varṣa Yuvarājadeva I, the Cedi ruler.

6. *Date of Kauṭilya's Artha Śāstra*: Pran Nath. D. Sc., Ph. D. The author places the work between 484 and 510 A. D.

7. *A Buddhist paralled to the Avimāraka Story*: A. Venkatasubbiah.

8. *The name of the Kharoṣṭhī Script*: Jean Pr Zyluskī.

9. *Prāyaścitta or the Hindu ideas of the expiation of Sin*: Biren Bonnerjea.

INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.

1930. Vol. VI. Nos. 1—4.

1. *The machinary of Administration in the Kauṭilīya*: Dr. Narendranath Law.

2. *Problems of the Nāṭya Śāstra*: Manoranjan Ghosh. The article says—

   i. The Naṭas were śūdras. The word Bharata, meaning Naṭa is not derived from any person of the same name.

ii. The Nāṭya Śāstra legend about the origin of Nāṭya is palpably a badly made fable fitted to the text in a still worse manner.

iii. Śilālin and Kṛśāśva were the earliest writers on texts for Naṭas and these works are lost because of socio-political circumstances in post-Pāṇinīyan times.

iv. Bharata and Ādi Bharata are 2 different works.

3. *Śaṅkara on the relation between the Vedas and Reason*: S. K. Mukerjee.

4. *Antiquity of Tantricism*: C. Chakravarti.

5. *The Trustworthiness of the Mahāvaṁśa*: Dr. Wilh. Geiger, Ph. D.

6. *The Guṇa doctrine in Bharata*: P. C. Lahiri, M.A.

7. *The sigin of Buddhism*: Manoranjan Ray, M.A.

8. *Some difficult Vedic words*: V. K. Rajwade.

9. *The Indo-Aryan Invasion—A Myth*: Jainath Pati.

10. *Maṇimekhalā, a divinity of the Sea*: Sylvain Levi.

11. *Yuddhakāṇḍa campū of Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita*: T. R. Chintāmani. The text is printed with a short introduction.

12. *The Riddle of the Pradyota dynasty*: Jyotirmoy Sen.

13. *Vidyāraṇya and Mādhava*: R. Rama Rao. The author establishes that even according to orthodox tradition, the two are not identical. The article is continued in. No. 2. Vol. VII.

1931. Vol. VII. Nos. 1 and 2.

1. *Śīlaparikathā of Vasubandhu*: Ananth Nath Basu: The Tibetan text is published with a Sanskrit rendering and a short introduction. The work is a very short one and deals of Śīla—" morals, vows or observances ".

2. *Daṇḍin's Conception of the Guṇas*: P. C. Lahiri.

3. *The Lokāyatikas and the Kāpālikas*: Dākṣiṇa Ramjan Śāstri.

4. *A short chronology of Indian Astronomy*: S. K. Das.

5. *Date of the Mudrārākṣasa* : S. Śrīkanṭha Śāstri. The author argues that it must have been written in the time of Candragupta II.

6. *Maṇimekhalā " The gaurdian deity of the Sea "—a Cambodian document* : Sylvain Levi.

7. *Notes on Dravidian*: L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar.

8. *Maṇḍana, Sureśvara and Bhavabhūti* : *The problem of their identiy* : D. C. Bhattacarya. The author establishes the equation—Maṇḍana—Viśvarūpa—Umveka--Bhavabhūti—Sureśvara.

9. *Kulaśekhara of Kerala*: K. Rama Pishoroti, M.A.

10. *Vilvamangalarn Svamiyās*: A. Govinda Wariyar. The author decides the number of the saints so named and which of them is the author of the Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta.

11. *More on Maṇimekalā*: Sylvain Levi.

12. *Maṇimekalā*: Arthur A Pereira.

JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.

January and April 1930.

1. *The discovery of the author's Vṛtti on Vākyapadīya* Ramakṛṣṇa Kavi.

October, 1930.

2. *Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi*: R. Subba Rao.

3. *Ballāla III and Vijaya Nagara*: Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, M.A., Ph. D.

January 1931.

4. *Literary Gleanings*: No. XI. The identity of Sureśvara: Ramakṛṣṇa Kavi.

JOURNAL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Feb.—Dec. 1930.

1. *The Date of the Yoga-Sūtras*: Jwala Prasad. The writer refutes the arguments of Prof. Jacobi and Prof. Woods for the late date of the Yoga-Sūtras.

2. *Some Sāṅkhya and Yoga Conceptions of the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*: E. H. Johnston.

January 1931.

3. *The Kālavāda and the Zervanite System*: O. G. Von Wesendonk: The writer compares Indian conceptions of time with Greek and Iranian conceptions of time.

4. *Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya's Conquest of Rachol*: Rev. H. Heras. S. J.

July, 1931

5. *Varuṇa, God of the Sea and Sky*: Jean. Przyluski.

6. *Māṭhara and Paramārtha*: S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri. The writer states that the original for Paramārtha's Chinese translation is not the Māṭhara-Vṛtti and that it is probable that both had a common original.

7. *Discovery of the lost Phonetic Sūtras of Pāṇini*: Raghu Vīra. The writer makes a study of the original Śīkṣā-Sūtras of Pāṇini himself, discovered by the late Dayananda Sarasvati in 1879. The text, available only in a corrupt form, is printed here.

April, 1931.

8. *Notes on the Nyāyapraveśa by Śaṅkara Svāmin*: Giru-seppe Tucci.

JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

1930, Nos. i—iv.

1. *Prossemy and Ecsemy in Dravidian*: L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar.

2. *Rāmadeva Raya, an unknown emperor of Vijaya Nagara*: Rev. H. Heras. S. J.

3. *Problems of Śaka—Śātavāhana history*: K. P. Jayaswal.

March, 1931.

4. *On the interpretation of some doubtful words in the Atharva-Veda*: Tarapada Chowdhury.

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY.

1931. Parts 1—3.

1. *Glimpses into the married life of the Ancient Tamil people*: K. G. Sesha Aiyar.

2. *The date of Māṇikkavacaka*: K. G. Śankar. The writer assigns Māṇikkavācaka to the close of the 7th century—A. C.

3. *Social legislation in Ancient South India*: C. M. Rama-candra Chettiyar.

4. *The Kadambas of Banavase*: V. Raghavendra Rao.

5. *Viveka Sāra of Śaṅkarānanda.*: Dr. K. Shama Sastri.

6. *Ārya parentage of Astronomical Systems of Chaldea*: V. Subramanya Śāstri.

7. *Antiquity of the Vedas*: H. N. Subba Rao. The writer says that we cannot fix the age of Vedas at any period and should believe them to be coeval with the creation.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY.

April 1931. Vol. X. Part I.

1. *The Prince of Wales Museum inscription of Jayakeśi III.*—The Kadamba King Goa: C. S. Sharma.

2. *The Historical origin of the distinction between Svārthānumāna and Parārthānumāna*: Dr. S. Sen. An examination of the theory that this distinction originated in Dignāga; *to be continued.*

THE PHILOSOPHICAL QUARTERLY.

April, 1930.

1. *Kumārila's Conception of Soul*: Jānakī Vallabha Sāṁkhya tīrtha.

July, 1930.

2. *Indra and Prajāpati as Philosophers*: Sītānath Tattva Bhūṣaṇ.

3. *A Representationist's case examined*: Bibhuramjan Guha.

October, 1930.

4. *A neglected School of Vedānta or the Philosophy of Vijñānabhikṣu*: Umeścanda Bhattacharjee.

REVIEW OF PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION.

Vol. I. No. 2.

1. *Nyāya conception of Truth and Error*: Prof. Hiriyanna.

2. *The chronological Position of Viśiṣṭādvaita*: Y. Subba Rao.

Vol. II. No. 1.

3. *New light on the Gauḍapādakārikās*: B. N. Krishnamurti Śarma: a defence of Śrī Mādhavācārya's 'Upaniṣadic theory' of the Māṇḍūkya Kārikās of Gauḍapāda.

BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES.

1930. Vol. VI. Part. I.

1. *La theorie des Guṇa (Sattva, Rajas and Tamas)*: J. Przyluski.

CENTAMIL. 1930.

1. *Tolkāppiya-c-collatikārakkuṟippu* : Dr. P. S. Subramanya Śāstri.

2. *The Tolkāppiyam and the Sanskrit Śikṣāprātiśākhyas and Niruktas*: Dr. P. S. Subramanya Śāstri.

3. *Puṟanāṉūṟṟukkuṟippu*: Dr. P. S. Subramanya Śāstri.

CENTAMILCCELVI. 1931.

1. *Koṅgu Country and Roman Coins*: C. M. Ramacandra Chettiyar.

2. *Moḻiyārāycci—Comparative Philology*—Vidvān G. Devadāsan. The writer gives a list of English, Greek and Latin words and their Dravidian (Tamil) cognate forms and says that a number of Tamil words had migrated into the foreign vocabulary in ancient times.

In the next issue the same writer gives a list of Tamil words that had got into the Sanskrit vocabulary.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

HISTORY OF DHARMASASTRA (ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LAW) BY PANDURANG VAMAN KANE, M.A., L.L.M.—Advocate, High Court, Bombay; Vice-President and Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch: etc. etc.—Vol. I, 1930—to be had of the Bhandarkai Oriental Research Institute, Poona (4), India—Price Rs. 15—per copy, exclusive of postage—[pages 467+synopsis XLVIII+ general index—pages 468 to 502+appendix A—list of works on Dharmaśāstra—pages 503 to 676+appendix B—list of authors on Dharmaśāstra—pages 677 to 760.]

This stout volume, of over eight hundred pages in all, is a substantial and massive work on the history of *Dharmaśāstra*, by Professor Pāṇḍurang Vāman Kane, M.A., L.L.M., whom Sanskrit scholars and Indologists all over the world have long become accustomed to think of first as a learned Sanskrit scholar of established reputation, and only on second thought, as a member of the legal profession. In this volume, the learned author brings together a vast mass of reliable chronological data and reconstructs on acceptable foundations the chronology of the Dharmaśāstra literature, with particular reference to its early makers and medieval scholiasts, beginning with Gautama and ending with Jagannātha Tarkapañcānana. The phrase *Dharmaśāstra* is used in the title of this work in a somewhat restricted sense and is applied only to the Sūtras, metrical texts and digests regulating the conduct of men in matters pertaining to *ācāra*, *vyavahāra* and *prāyaścitta*. The Śrauta-sūtras and Gṛhya-sūtras and the directory guides, called *prayoga-granthas*, are excluded from the scope of this work.

The author's prodigious industry and admirable analysis have made accessible to scholars, in a controllable form, a bewildering mass of chronological materials relating to Dharmaśāstra works, consisting partly of data gathered by other scholars with reference to individual works on Dharmaśāstra edited by them and partly of fresh data gathered by the learned author of

the work under review. The judicial attitude which the author has adopted in discussing various chronological problems is highly commendable. He arranges all the available data and indicates the conclusion that may follow, with due reservations. Generally, he avoids indulging in hasty or one-sided generalisations and playing the role of an advocate, though himself a veteran advocate by profession. He rightly points out (page 10) the unsoundness of the view held by Professor Max Muller and others that Smṛti works in continuous *anuṣṭubh* metre should invariably be held to be later than the sūtras of the Dharmaśāstra literature. A perusal of the sections (13, 14 and 31) dealing with the *Mānavadharmasūtra*, the *Kauṭilīya-arthaśāstra* and the *Manusmṛti* will show how cautious the author is in stating his conclusions regarding these works. His conclusions in these and similarcases are very satisfactory, though, under no circumstances, they can be said to be more than provisional. He has successfully exploded the myth of Mānavadharma-sūtra, which, by mere repetition rather than by sound reasoning, has become petrified into a seemingly acceptable hypothesis in the history of ancient Sanskrit literature. He has clearly shown how the weight of evidence is greater in favour of the view that the traditional date of 300 B. C. for the *Arthaśāstra* of *Kauṭilya* is likely to be correct. The data which he has analysed and presented in section 31 are such as would compel a very favourable consideration of his plausible suggestion that the extant Manusmṛti was finally recast, probably by Bhṛgu, between the 2nd century B. C. and 2nd century A. D., on the basis of two pre-existing metrical texts, which were perhaps produced respectively by Svāyambhuva-manu and Prācetasa-manu long before the 4th century B. C. The work under review contains new information, not generally known to scholars, in several sections, such as those dealing with Asahāya, Bhartṛyajña and Bhārucī. That, in spite of his usual caution, the author has sometimes been led to make somewhat hasty statements in the course of his big work is rather a proof of the temptations and difficulties in the way of an Indologist, however conscientious he may be. For instance, in the section dealing with Viśvarūpa (60), it is suggested in page 262 that the use of the word मीमांसकंमन्य, in the *Taittirīya-bhāṣya-vārttika* 1-9-10, shows that Viśvarūpa, otherwise known as Sureśvara, was never Bhaṭṭakumārila's pupil. As against this suggestion, one should carefully consider verse-442 p. 517, and similar passages in the

Bṛhadāraṇyaka-bhāṣya-vārttika and it will be seen that the feeling that Viśvarūpa's attitude towards Kumārila is one of great respect cannot be resisted. It should also be mentionedhere that, in an exhaustive survey of the history of the Dharmaśāstra, like the one under review, it would be felt as a palpable omission to completely ignore, as the author has done, two famous compilers of digests in South India, *viz.*: Vaidyanātha-dīkṣita the famous author of the *Smṛtimuktāphala*, and *Vaidika-sārvabhauma.*

The exhaustive general index and the almost exhaustive list of works on Dharmaśāstra appended to this work (pages 503 to 760) greatly enhance its value as a book of reference. This short review cannot be more appropriately closed than by reminding the author of Kālidāsa's observation "क्लेशः फलेन हि पुनर्नवतां विधत्ते"; and it is our sincere prayer that the learned author of this valuable work may be blessed with a long life and with the health and strength necessary to enable him to complete his great task, by publishing at an early date, the second volume, in which he proposes to deal with the development of the various subjects comprised in the Dharmaśāstra.

S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI.

BHAGAVAD-GITA (STUDENTS' EDITION) BY D. S. SARMA M.A. Published by the Current Thought Press, Triplicane, Madras. Crown 16 vo. pp. i—xi+299. Price :—Cloth bound Rs. 2. Wrapper Rs. 1-8-0.

This book contains the text and translation with introduction and notes. The author, Professor Sarma has made the Gītā his life study. He intends this book primarily for the use of all Hindu students in colleges. He says in the preface "Though the Gītā has passed through countless editions and has been commented on by a host of scholars and has been translated into many Asiatic and European languages, still I had long felt the want of a suitable edition with an introduction, text, English translation and notes for the use of students." So far as the translation is concerned he says "there are two principles that every translator should keep in view, namely faithfulness to the original and purity of the language into which the translation is made." He further adds "that most of the translators had not paid much attention to the second." How far this latter remark

is justified, we do not propose to discuss in this Review. But in respect of Professor Sarma's translation, the reader has the decided advantage of the translation having been scrutinised and improved by one of the greatest Sanskrit scholars now living, Mahāmahopādhyāya Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri. This is, in itself in our opinion, a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy and faithfulness of the translation as far as possible to the original. It is indeed, evident that much labour has been bestowed by the author in co-operation with his other friends in bringing out this edition. Though, there may have been already many editions and translations from the pen of eminent scholars, we welcome this valuable edition to the list, especially a students' edition. The absolute necessity of the study of the Gītā by all Hindu students cannot be better put than in the words of Mahātmā Gāndhi, in his speech in the Hindu High School, Triplicane on 4-9-1927, an extract from which is given in the beginning of this edition. "Those of you who know Sanskrit should to-morrow, if possible to-day, buy the Gītā and begin to study the book. Have private Gītā classes for yourselves. Those of you who do not know Sanskrit, should study sanskrit, if only for the sake of Gītā. I tell you that it contains treasures of knowledge of which you have no conception whatsoever." What the Gītā meant to the Mahātmā will best be realised from what he says in respect of verses 54 to 72 in the 2nd chapter which are said to be his favourite verses. He says "The last 19 verses of the second chapter have since been inscribed on the tablet of my heart. They contain for me all knowledge. All the truths they teach are the eternal verities. There is reasoning in them but they represent realised knowledge." These are golden words which summarise beautifully the value of the Gītā to the world and to humanity in general. It must, however, be admitted that the Gītā is a work which it is difficult to translate and whose real meaning and ultimate import in many places, it is difficult to grasp. Indeed, it may even be said that the work is as elusive as the personality of the Lord whose teachings it contains. In the beginning of his commentary to this work, the great Śaṅkarācārya observes as follows:

तदिदं गीताशास्त्रं समस्तवेदार्थसारसङ्ग्रहभूतं दुर्विज्ञेयार्थं तदर्थाविष्करणाय अनेकैः विवृतपदपदार्थवाक्यवाक्यार्थन्यायमपि अत्यन्तविरुद्धाने-

कार्थत्वेन लौकिकैः गृह्यमाणमुपलभ्य अहं विवेकतः अर्थनिर्धारणार्थं संक्षेपतो विवरणं करिष्यामि ॥

To add to the difficulties the interpretation of the Gītā by modern thinkers and scholars in the light of present day problems and ideals and in the language of modern thought has introduced a fresh source of confusion. Hence the task of bringing out an edition like this must be said to be a difficult one. But Professor Sarma has, we are glad to say, accomplished it with a fair measure of success. In a short review, it is not possible to advert to the various points discussed by the author in his valuable introduction and also in the notes. We congratulate the Publishers also on their neat printing and get up.

We conclude, however, with the wish that it should be possible to organize a fund which will enable us to present every student, especially a Hindu student, on the eve of the Annual Convocations of the Universities with a copy of this edition. We hope that there are a few atleast among us who have got something of the spirit, enthusiasm and love which the Christian Missionaries possess.

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA IYER.

MUGHAL BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., are. to publish shortly an annotated bibliography of books and manuscripts relating to the Mughals in India on Art, Science, Biography, History, Geography, Travels, Literature, Philosophy, Religions, Economics, Sport, &c., &c., which is now being prepared and will be published early next year. Every effort is being made to make bibliography as complete as possible. Authors desirous of having their works included in bibliography are requested to send particulars of their books or magazine articles to the Editor of the "Indian Literary Review," 190, Hornby Road, Bombay, as early as possible. The full title, author's name, number of pages and illustrations, year and place of publication should be clearly mentioned. If possible, a very short summary of the contents also should be given. If any persons or Institutions happen to have any unique manuscript, full particulars of the same should be given.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE.

K. A. SUBRAHMANYA IYER, M.A., (Lond.). Prosecuted his higher studies in Sanskrit in the French Universities under Dr. Sylvain Levi. He is he Sissendi Raj Reader in Sanskrit and Head of the Department ot Sanskrit in the University of Lucknow.

L. V. RAMASWAMI IYER, M.A., B.L. A Good scholar in Dravidian languages and a contributor to many Journals. He is a lecturer in the Maharaja's College, Ernakulam.

S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAN, B.A., L.T. A Teacher at Chidambaram, who is keenly interested in advanced Historical Research.

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, M.A., PH. D., A very good scholar in Tamil and Sanskrit. Lecturer in Dravidian languages, Bishop Heber College, Trichinopoly. Now Assistant Editor of the Tamil Lexicon compiled by the Madras University.

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN, M.A., B.L. An Advocate of the Madras High Court, who is a keen researcher in the sphere of Indology, with special reference to the historical material in ancient Tamil literature and the author of "The Kāveri, the Maukharis and the Śaṅgam age" and "South Indian Portraits in Stone and Metal."

C. KUNHAN RAJA, M.A., D. PHIL. (OXON.). Reader in Sanskrit and Head of the Department of Sanskrit in the Oriental Researh Institute, University of Madras.

N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI, MĪMĀṀSĀ ŚIROMAṆI. He was working for some time in the Śānti Niketen. Now Lecturer in Sanskrit in the Madras Ayurveda College, Mylapore. Knows Tibetan and many other languages.

मन्त्राधिकरणम्

तदर्थशास्त्रात् (१—२—३१) ॥

मन्त्रेषु संशयः—ते किं उच्चारणमात्रेणोपकुर्वन्ति, उत अर्थप्रकाशनेननेति । नन्वेवमसङ्गतिः स्यात्, उभयथापि देशनाप्रामाण्यात् । अविधेयार्थत्वेन मन्त्राणामेव प्रामाण्यं न स्यादिति चेत्; किं तेन ? तेषामदेशनारूपत्वात् । किं च प्रयोगकालेऽर्थ-प्रकाशकत्वेऽपि न प्रामाण्यम्; न हि तत्कालीनं मन्त्रोच्चारणं राद्धान्तेऽपि प्रमाणम्, तस्य प्रमेयत्वात्; तत्कालीनस्य च प्रकाशनस्य स्मरणरूपस्याप्रमाणत्वेन किञ्चित्क्रिया-रूपत्वात् । तस्मात् सिद्धान्तेऽप्यध्ययनदशायामेव मन्त्राणां प्रामाण्यम्, न तु प्रयो-गदशायामपि । तत्र तस्यां दशायां दृष्टा वा किञ्चित्क्रिया भवत्वदृष्टा वा, किं तया प्रामाण्ये ? अत एव प्रयोगकालेऽनन्यपराणामपि 'हुम्' इत्येवमादीनामध्य-यनेऽप्रामाण्यमेव; अन्यथा सर्वो वेदः प्रमाणं स्यात् ।

कथं पुनरध्ययनदशायां मन्त्राणां प्रामाण्यम् ? उच्यते—मन्त्रैरात्मैवोपनीयते; तदन्वितश्च स्वार्थो ग्राहकवाक्येन बोध्यते । अतो लाक्षणिकानामिव पदानामुपस्थापन-द्वारान्वितप्रतीतौ व्यापारात् प्रामाण्यम् । प्रमेयं(ये) च तत्र लक्षणया मन्त्रैरात्मोपनीयते इति केचित् । नन्वर्थान्तरे वृत्तिर्हि लक्षणा, सा चार्थस्य पदार्थान्तरान्वयायोग्यतया तद्योग्योपस्थापनरूपा; न चेहैकैकस्य पदस्यात्मा पदार्थान्तरान्वयगमनयोग्यः; न चार्थयोरयोग्यता । मैवम्; अर्थयोस्तावदयोग्यत्वं विद्यते, स्वाध्यायकाले बर्हिर्लवनस्या-वर्तमानस्य तत्तया प्रकाशनायोगात् । न च पदस्यात्मा पदार्थान्तरान्वययोग्यः, अन्यत्रापि पदे स्वात्मन एवार्थत्वात्; पदयोश्च सम्भूयैकाङ्गत्वरूपस्यान्वयस्य सम्भवात् । तदेवं मन्त्रपदैः स्वे स्वे आत्मनि लक्षिते मन्त्रो लक्षितो भवति ।

अन्ये तु—लक्षणाद्युपस्थितेनैव परमन्विताभिधानं सम्भवतीत्येवं न; किं तु उपस्थितमात्रेणेति व्युत्पत्तिः; लक्षणादिकं ह्युपस्थितिरूपत्वादे(त्वेनै)व व्युत्पन्नम्, न तु प्रातिस्विकेन रूपेण; ततश्च श्रोत्रप्रत्यक्षोपस्थित एव मन्त्रो ग्राहके गृह्यते— इत्याहुः । न चैवं वृत्त्यनङ्गतया तन्निवेशो कथमन्विताभिधाने निवेश इति वाच्यम्; प्रायिकत्वाद्वृत्तेः, तात्पर्यमात्रेणान्विताभिधाने निवेशात् । अन्यथा "हुमुदीरयेत्" इति नान्वयप्रतीतिः स्यात्, तत्र स्वार्थाभावे लक्षणाभावात् । तस्मात् स्वाध्याय-दशायामेव प्रामाण्यम् । तत्तु प्रयोगकालीनेन प्रकाशनेन दृष्टेनादृष्टेन वा निर्वाह्यते

व्रीहिवाक्यप्रामाण्यमिव किञ्चित्क्रियया वैतुष्यलक्षणया । तदेव चोक्तं ग्रन्थे । तस्मात् कथमत्र सङ्गतिः ?

उच्यते—मन्त्रलिङ्गतदर्थशास्त्रयोः परस्परव्याघातादप्रामाण्ये शब्दस्वभावादप्रामाण्यमिति सकलदेशनाप्रामाण्याक्षेपेणैव पूर्वपक्षः । तथा हि—यदि मन्त्राणामर्थपरता, तदा लिङ्गादेव विनियोगसिद्धेस्तदर्थशास्त्रं निष्प्रयोजनं स्यादिति तत्प्रयोजनवत्त्वाय मन्त्राणामर्थपरत्वं नास्तीति प्रतीयते । तथा यदि तदर्थशास्त्रस्यार्थपरत्वम्, मन्त्राणामर्थपरत्वं त्याज्यम्; अन्यथा निष्प्रयोजनत्वापत्तेः; ततः प्रतीतमन्त्रार्थपरतानुरोधेन तदर्थशास्त्रं न प्रमाणमिति प्रतिभाति । अतः परस्परव्याघातादप्रामाण्यम् । तदर्थशास्त्राद्विनियोगः, लिङ्गवशात्तु प्रयोगकाले प्रकाशकत्वम्, अतो द्वयोरेव सार्थकत्वमिति चेत् न; प्रयोगकालीनमेव हि प्रकाशनसामर्थ्यं लिङ्गम्; तच्चेत् पुरस्कृतम्, विनियोगोऽपि तस्यैव स्यादिति कृतं तदर्थशास्त्रेण । तत् परिसङ्ख्यार्थमिति चेत् न, परिसङ्ख्यादीनां दुष्टत्वात् । यत्र वा परिसङ्ख्यादिकं न भवति, तदत्रोदाहरणं भविष्यति । तदर्थशास्त्रस्य श्रुतित्वेन दुर्बलं मन्त्रलिङ्गं बाध्यताम्, न तु व्याघात इति चेत् न; श्रुतेर्हि प्रयोजनमात्रं न स्यात्, मन्त्रस्य दुर्बलस्यार्थपरत्वमेव भज्यत इति तुल्यमेव । तथा यथा शीघ्रभावित्वाच्छ्रुतेर्बलवत्त्वम्, तथा किञ्चित्क्रियार्थं लिङ्गापेक्षणाद्दुर्बलत्वमपीति चाहुः ।

राद्धान्तस्तु—न तदर्थशास्त्रस्य प्रयोजनवत्त्वार्थं व्युत्पन्नं मन्त्राणामर्थपरत्वं हातव्यम्, प्रयोजनवत्त्वस्याव्युत्पन्नत्वात् । अतो व्याघातेन लिङ्गमेव विनियोजकम्; तदर्थशास्त्रं त्वर्थवाद एव । ननु श्रुतेः शीघ्रभावित्वात् सैव विनियोजिका युक्ता; तथा च मन्त्रस्य द्वाराकाङ्क्षायां प्रसक्तायां लिङ्गं विनियोगद्वारज्ञानमेव जनयति अन्यार्थशास्त्रेणैवैन्द्र्यां गार्हपत्यविनियुक्तायाम् । अतो न तदर्थशास्त्रमनुवादकं युक्तम् ।

अत्र विवेकः—लिङ्गमेवात्र शीघ्रभावि, त्रयाणां (तिसृणामेव) शेषशेषिकिञ्चित्क्रियाणामुपस्थापकत्वात् । श्रुतौ शेषशेषिणोर्द्वयोरुपस्थितिः, न किञ्चित्क्रियायाः; अतस्तदर्थं लिङ्गापेक्षा; ततो दुर्बलत्वमेव । न चैवमन्यार्थशास्त्रेऽपि श्रुतेर्दुर्बलत्वमेव स्यादिति वाच्यम्; तत्र "ऐन्द्र्या गार्हपत्यमुपतिष्ठते" इत्यात्मनेपदबलात् किञ्चित्क्रियाया अभिधानरूपाया उपस्थितेः—यद्यपि "धान्यमसीति दृषदि तण्डुलानावपति" इत्यन्यार्थशास्त्रे किञ्चित्क्रियोपस्थानं नास्ति, लिङ्गादपि तण्डुलप्रकाशनापत्तेः (शक्तेः) । अतः स्वयं किञ्चित्क्रियामुपस्थाप्यैव निरपेक्षा श्रुतिर्विनियोजिका ।

तदयुक्तम्—यदि सम्भृतसामग्रीकं लिङ्गम् , तदान्यार्थशास्त्रेऽपि विनियोजकं स्यात्। श्रुतिरपि सम्भृतेति चेत् , एवं सति तुल्यत्व स्यात् न तु लिङ्गं दुर्बलम्। द्वयोरपि सम्भृतयोः श्रुतिर्बलीयसीति चेत् न ; सम्भृतत्वातिरिक्तबलवत्त्वाभावात् । भावे च तदर्थशास्त्रे श्रुतेः स्वाभाविकं बलवत्त्वम्, लिङ्गस्य तु सम्भृतत्वमिति तुल्यबलत्वाद्द्वयोर्विनियोजकत्वमिति स्यात्; न तु श्रुतेरनुवादकत्वम्। "धान्यमसि" इत्यत्रापि च लिङ्गस्यैव सम्भृतसामग्रीकत्वे विनियोजकत्वमग्रे स्यात्। तत्र श्रुतेर्लिङ्गानपेक्षेति चेत्, मा भवतु तदपेक्षा; तथापि सम्भृतत्वे को विशेषः ? लिङ्गादप्राप्तौ तदनुसन्धायार्थान्तरात् किञ्चित्क्रियार्थानुसन्धानहेतोरपि विलम्बात् तत्रापि गौणमेव लिङ्गमपेक्षते; कथमन्यथा तण्डुलप्रकाशनं किञ्चित्क्रिया स्यात्? गौणं लिङ्गमेव न स्यादिति चेत् न; सामान्यमात्रं लिङ्गम्, न त्वभिधानशक्तिरेव। वाक्यत्वमात्रपर्यालोचनया त्वर्थप्रकाशनं किञ्चित्क्रियेति चेत् न , अस्यापि लिङ्गत्वात्; तदर्थशास्त्रेऽपि च तथैव नियोजकत्वापत्तेः। अपि च "पुरोडाशं प्रथयति" इति द्वितीया किञ्चित्क्रियामभिधत्ते, क्रियाजन्यफलभागित्वाभिधानात् । अतो द्वितीयाभिधायां सामान्यतः किञ्चित्क्रियामादाय विनियोगभूतलिङ्गादविशेषाद्विनियोगावगमकावगमो भवति । ननु लिङ्गं विना श्रुतिरपिविनियोजिका, अन्यथा "व्रीहीन-वहन्ति" इत्यत्रापि लैङ्गिको विनियोगो भवेत् , श्रुतिश्चानुवादिका स्यात्, प्रथनस्य च किञ्चित्क्रियां विभक्तिराह, न तु मन्त्रस्य, मन्त्रस्य च विनियोगश्चिन्त्यत इति चेत् न; एवं सति अश्रौतत्वप्रसक्तेरैन्द्रीविनियोगश्चैवाश्रौतः स्यात् , अपि च, "उरु प्रथा उरु प्रथस्व" (प्रथस्वेति" इति) इतिशब्देन करणत्वाभिधानात् तद्बलादेव किञ्चित्क्रियालाभः ; अन्यथा ("धान्यमसि") इत्यत्रापि लैङ्गिको विनियोगः स्यात्, लिङ्गात् किञ्चित्क्रियाविशेषावगमात्। अपि चैवं तदर्थशास्त्रस्यानुवादकत्वे लिङ्गाच्चाग्रे विनियोगे रशनामन्त्रस्य गर्दभरशनायामपि विनियोगः स्यात् , लिङ्गात् किञ्चित्क्रियाविशेषावगमात् ; श्रुतेस्तु विनियोजकत्वे लिङ्गं न प्रवर्तत एवेति (न) गर्दभे मन्त्रप्राप्तिः। किञ्च लिङ्गात् त्रितयमुपस्थितमित्येतावता न विनियोगो भवति, अनेनेदं कर्तव्यम्—इति शब्दाभावात्। अन्यथा ध्यानादिनापि विनियोगः स्यात्, तत्रापि लिङ्गसद्भावात्। ग्राहकेदमर्थद्वारा ऐतदर्थ्यं विनानुपपद्यमानं द्वारे प्रधाने श्रुतेस्तात्पर्यं कल्पयित्वा लिङ्गं सहायमादाय विनियोजकम्, कल्पना वा(च) अन्यतःसिद्धविनियोजकप्रमाणभावमुपलभ्य भवति। तत्र लोकव्युत्पत्तिसिद्धतात्पर्यायां श्रुतौ विद्यमानायां लिङ्गस्य सामर्थ्येव नास्ति ; यस्त्वंशः श्रुतितोऽपि न सिध्यति, तत्र लिङ्गात् तत्तात्पर्यं कल्प्यते ।

चन्द्रस्तु—श्रुतेः शीघ्रं विनियोगः प्रतीत एव ; किन्तु द्वैतीयोऽसौ , न तार्तीयः, किञ्चित्क्रियाविरहात् । लिङ्गात् किञ्चित्क्रियापेक्षणे लिङ्गमेव शेषत्वबोधकम् ,

सम्भृतत्वात् । विप्रतिपत्तौ तु प्रथमोपजातत्वे तृतीयविनियोगविरोधादेव न लिङ्गं विनियोजकमिति ।

तन्न, उक्तदोषात् । न च द्वैतीयविनियोगे लिङ्गस्य श्रुतेर्विलम्बः ; किन्तु तार्तीय एव, लिङ्गात् कर्तव्यताया: प्रतीतेः । न च प्रयोगविधित: कर्तव्यतामादाय लिङ्गस्य विनियोजकत्वम् , अन्यथाङ्गविधीनामनुवादकत्वासम्भवात् इति युक्तम् ; "अङ्गप्रयोगवचनेन (न) गृह्यते , न चाविहितमङ्गं भवति" इत्यभिधानात् । चरमस्तु प्रयोगविधित एव साङ्गप्रधानकर्तव्यतावगमात् (म:) अङ्गवाक्यीयकर्तव्यतावगमः फलतोऽनुवादो भवतीत्येवं सङ्गस्य विधिरनुवादो भवतीत्युच्यते । न च द्वैतीयो विनियोगस्तार्तीयस्य विरोधी, स्वरूपाश्रयत्वात् । सत्यपि मन्त्राणां तार्तीयविनियोगे ध्यानादीनामपि द्वैतीयविनियोगानपायात् ।

नन्दनस्तु—विधेस्त्रिकालाप्राप्तविषयत्वात् तदर्थशास्त्रस्य विलम्बिन्यामपि लिङ्गात् प्राप्तौ सम्भवन्त्यां न विनियोजकत्वम् । अन्यार्थशास्त्रे तु तद्विषया भाविन्यपि प्राप्तिर्नास्तीति विनियोजकत्वमेव । यत्र तु निमित्तेतर(त्तोत्तर)भाविनी प्राप्तिः, तत्र नानुवादत्वम् 'न निमित्तं विधिरपबाधते' इति न्यायात् । यथा "वैष्णवस्त्रिकपाल:" इत्यत्र विष्णुविधानादेव देशनालिङ्गादतिदेशेन विष्णोः प्राप्तिः, न त्वन्यथा । तथा च भेदमुक्तम् अवश्यम्भाविनी हि प्राप्तिर्विधित्वं हन्ति ; इह तु श्रौते विनियोगे जाते ग्राहकमन्त्रयोर्निराकाङ्क्षत्वाल्लैङ्गिको विनियोगो नास्ति ; अन्यथोपादानादेवावान्तरापूर्वाणां प्राप्तिसम्भवात् । किञ्च, भाविन्यामपि प्राप्तौ कुतः पूर्वस्यानुवादकत्वम् ? उदितस्य वादोऽनुवादः, न त्वपूर्ववादोऽस्यार्थः ; न तरां शास्त्रम् । यद्यनुष्ठाने विशेषः, तदैव विधित्वम् ; भाविन्यामपि प्राप्तौ नानुष्ठाने विशेष इति चेन्न ; न हि प्रयोजनं विधित्वम् , किन्तु प्रवर्तकत्वम् ; तच्च विद्यत एवात्र, द्वयोरेवाग्रेसरचरमभाविनोः प्रवर्तकत्वात् । अन्यथा भाविन्यपि प्राप्तिः कथं विधिरूपा ? त्रिकालाप्राप्तगोचरत्वाद्विधेः । शब्दधर्मोऽयं विधित्वमनुवादत्वं वा ; न च लिङ्गं शब्द इति चेन्न ; अनुवादः—इत्यत्र वदेर्गुणमात्रस्य विवक्षितत्वाल्लैङ्गिकस्यापि ज्ञानस्य शब्दजन्यत्वादनुवादकत्वम् । यदि भाविन्यां प्राप्तौ नानुवादः, तर्हि कथं "पृषदाज्येनानूयाजान् यजति" इत्यनूयाजानुवाद इति चेत् , न ; विशिष्टविधौ गौरवभयादतिदेशस्योपदेशोत्तरकालमभिधानात् । अपि च, एवं गर्दभेऽपि मन्त्रप्राप्तिः स्यात् ; लिङ्गमेवाग्रेसरम् ; ग्राहकदशायामेव यत्रेयं शक्तिस्तद्द्वारेणास्य विनियोगान्वयप्रतीतिप्राप्तिः, लिङ्गादुपसंहार इति चेत्, न, तस्यां दशायां सामान्यतो द्वारैदमर्थ्याप्रतीतेः ; प्रतीतौ वा यदस्य प्रमाणेनोपनेतव्यम् तदस्य द्वारम्—इति प्रतीतेः प्रथमं श्रौत एवोपसंहारो युक्तः, न तु लैङ्गिकः । अपि च एवमन्यार्थशास्त्रे लिङ्गादुपसंहारः स्यात् ।

अन्ये तु—तदर्थशास्त्रेण यजूरूपस्य मन्त्रस्य परिमाणावधारणाय लिङ्गमपेक्षणीयम् ; अतोऽत्र लिङ्गमेव बलीयः । ऐन्द्यां तु ऋचि छन्दःपादवशेन परिमाणावधारणमिति न तत्र लिङ्गापेक्षेत्याहुः । तन्न, सफलतदर्थशास्त्राव्यापनात् ; धान्यमस्यादौ च यजूरूपतया लिङ्गस्य बलवत्त्वापत्तेः । न च लिङ्गमपेक्ष्यत इत्येतावता बलीयो भवति ; न हि तस्य विनियोजकत्वमपेक्ष्यम् , किन्त्वेकवाक्यतावधारकत्वम् । न चैतावता तदेव विनियोजकं शीघ्रम् । न हि तस्य स्वरूपं विलम्बेन प्रतीयत इति केनाचिदुक्तम् । श्रुतिसमकालमेव प्रतिपन्नं स्वरूपं न श्रुत्या सह समकालं विनियोगाय समर्थम् ; कल्पनात्मकं हि तत् ; कल्पना दृष्टश्रुताभ्यामनुपपत्तेरनुपशमे भवति ; यावत् श्रौतविनियोगाभावं नावधारयति, तावत् कथं प्रवर्तते ? श्रुतेस्तु नेयं सामग्रीति विशेषः ॥

उच्यते—न हि प्रतिमन्त्रं लैङ्गिको विनियोगः कल्प्यते ; किन्तु सर्वानेव मन्त्रान् ग्राहकगृहीतानवलोक्य—यो यत्प्रकाशकः, तत्तेन प्रकाशयेत्—इति विनियोगः कल्प्यत इति । सा च सामान्यकल्पना तदर्थशास्त्रेणापि व्याप्नोति, तत्परित्यागकारणाभावात् । न, स्वश्रुत्यैव नैराकाङ्क्ष्यात्तत्परित्याग इति चेत् , न ; असामान्याकाङ्क्षायास्तत्कल्पनम् , न तु विशेषतस्तत् तदर्थम् । न च तथापि तत्परित्यागेन तत्कल्पनम् , विशेषकल्पनायां गौरवापत्तेः । तत्र द्वयोर्विज्ञानयोर्विधित्वासम्भवात्तदर्थशास्त्रमेवानुवादकं भविष्यति; लैङ्गिकस्य बहुविषयस्यांशतोऽनुवादकत्वे वैरूप्यप्रसङ्गात् । तस्मादेतत्तदर्थशास्त्रं विलम्बेनैवानुबोधकम् ; न चैवमन्यार्थशास्त्रं विलम्बेनैवानुबोधकम् । ननु एवमन्यार्थशास्त्रेऽपि लैङ्गिको विनियोगः स्यात् , तत्र बलवत्त्वाबाधात् ; इह विरोधाभावादेव न बाधः ; बलवत्त्वेनैवानुबोधकमपि श्रुतेरत्र लैङ्गिकसामान्यविषयज्ञानस्य दुर्निवारकत्वात् न श्रुतिः प्रथमं विज्ञानं जनयति, किन्तु स्वयमेव विलम्बमालम्बते । न चैवं गर्दभेऽपि मन्त्रप्राप्तिः स्यादिति वाच्यम् ; तत्र श्रुतेः सप्रयोजनत्वानुरोधेन साधारणस्य लिङ्गविनियोगस्य रशनेतरविषयतामापाद्य गर्दभप्राप्त्यसंभावनया अश्वरशनायां श्रौत एव विनियोगः । यत्र तु विधित्वेऽपि निष्प्रयोजनत्वं लिङ्गादपि तन्मात्र एव मन्त्रप्राप्तिः, तत्र निष्प्रयोजनत्वाविशेषादनुवादकत्वमेव । न तु साधारणस्य लैङ्गिकस्य विनियोगस्य संकोचः ।

विवरणे तु—योग्यमन्त्राणामप्यर्थपरत्वेऽव्यापित्वेनार्थपरत्वं हित्वा अध्ययनविधिना स्वाध्यायस्य प्रयोजनान्तरपरिग्रहादनर्थपरः स्वाध्यायः । तथा चाध्ययनविधेरप्यनर्थपरत्वम् तस्या(स्य)चानर्थपरत्वेनैव व्युत्पन्नस्यानर्थपरत्वेक(न) प्रयोजनान्तरकल्पनम् ततः पुनरर्थपरत्वं हित्वाध्ययनविधिना स्वाध्यायस्यानर्थपरत्वमिति चक्रकादप्रमाण्यम् । अयोग्यादीनां तु जपमन्त्रस्यानर्थपरत्वनैव व्युत्पन्नस्यानर्थपरत्वेऽपि नाव्यापिता सिद्धान्तेऽध्ययनं तथापि चक्रकं स्यादिति पूर्वः पक्षः । राद्धान्तस्तु **निबन्धनोक्त** एव ।

स्मृत्यधिकरणम्

धर्मस्य शब्दमूलत्वादशब्दमनपेक्षं स्यात् (१-३-१) ॥

मन्वादिस्मृतीनां किं भ्रान्त्यादिकं मूलम्, किं वा वेद इति चिन्ता । पूर्वपक्षे स्मृतीनामप्रामाण्यात् तदेकवाक्यतापन्नानां मन्त्राणामप्रामाण्यमिति शब्दस्य स्वभावादेवाप्रामाण्यम् । एवं च सकलदेशनाप्रामाण्याक्षेपात् संगतिः । ननु यां जना—मन्त्रस्य नाष्टकास्मृत्येकवाक्यता, तत्र प्रयोगे प्रमाणाभावात् । लिङ्गं विनियोजकमिति चेत्, सामान्यसम्बन्धाभावात् । अव्यभिचरितक्रतुसम्बन्धदेवतामुखेन ग्राहकग्रहणात् । परं तु देवतादी(दि)सामान्यसम्बन्ध इति चेत् न, एवं काम्येऽपि याज्यानुवाक्याकाण्डे तथा प्रसक्तेः लिङ्गस्य क्वापि सामान्यसम्बन्धापेक्षा समाख्यादितो न स्यात् । अभिधेयस्यार्थस्याव्यभिचारेणाग्राहकग्रहणम् । न च मन्त्रेण स्वाध्यायदशायामर्थोऽभिधीयते, स्वपरत्वात् । न च प्रयोगदशायां ग्राहकग्रहणं तस्य, तदुत्तरत्वात् । यत्तु दूषणम्—न मन्त्रवाक्ये ग्राहकग्रहणं मन्त्रस्यानभिधायकत्वात् ; नापि प्रधानवाक्ये, तत्र मन्त्रासन्निधेः—तदयुक्तम् ; मन्त्रस्य समाख्ययापि सामान्यसम्बन्धाप्रसक्तेः । समाख्याबलात्तत्र प्रधानवाक्य एव सन्निधिकल्पनेति चेत् न ; इहाप्यव्यभिचारबलात् स्यात् । स्वत एव नाध्ययनविधिबलात् सामान्यसम्बन्धः, सर्वत्रैवंप्रसक्तेः । उपस्थितश्चार्थोऽध्ययनविधिना स्वीक्रियते ; न तु तद्बलादेव तत्कल्पनम् । अत एव प्रजापतिव्रतपूर्वपक्षभावं विनापि प्रकरणादिना क्रतुसम्बन्धो मन्त्रस्य कल्प्यतामिति निरस्तम्, सर्वत्रैवं प्रसक्तेः । अभिहितनिर्वाहार्थं सा कल्पना ; न चेहाभिधानमस्ति ।

विवेकचन्द्रौ तु—मा भूतां ग्राहकग्रहणविनियोगौ तथाप्यष्टकाकार्ययोर्भेदे देवताप्रकाशकतयानुवादानामिव तत्सापेक्षतया न प्रामाण्यमित्याहु: (हुः) । तदयुक्तम् । न तावत् स्वाध्यायकाले प्रकाशकत्वम्, स्वपरत्वात् । न वा प्रयोगकाले, प्रयोगस्य विनियोगाधीनत्वात् । प्रयोगकाले वा प्रामाण्यं सिद्धान्तिनोऽप्यनुमतम् । यच्च अश्रुतभूम्यादिमन्त्रस्य पाक्षिकी प्राप्तिरुपकारतयोच्यते, तन्न । न तया प्रामाण्यं भवति, तत्प्रयोगस्य पुरुषेच्छाधीनप्रयोगत्वेन वेदाननुमतत्वात् । अन्यथा सिद्धान्तेऽपि बोद्धादिभिः (बौद्धादिभिः) स्वातन्त्र्येण स्वप्रक्रियायां वैदिकमन्त्रप्रयोगे वेदो न (ना) प्रमाणं स्यात् । उच्यते—नेदं पूर्वपक्ष एव बोध्यम् । सिद्धान्तेऽप्यस्य मन्त्रस्याष्टकायां विनियोगाङ्गीकारात् । अन्यथा लिङ्गदर्शनस्यानुपपत्तेः । तस्माद्भाष्यकृद्वचनादष्टकासम्बन्धोऽपि समाख्यया अस्तीति कल्प्यते । सा च याज्यानुरूपा । एवं ह्यष्टकासम्बन्ध एव, तत्रैव देवता-

प्रकाशनेन याज्यात्वोपपत्तेः ; अन्यथा निशीष्टिसम्बन्धोऽपि स्यात् । अन्ये तु यथाष्टकादिविधेय(यं)स्मृतिवाक्यं तथा मन्त्रोऽपि स्मृत्यैव तत्र विनियुज्यते । यथा "अञ्जलिनोत्तरया अपूपान् जुहोति" इत्यापस्तम्बस्मृतिः । श्राद्धादौ च स्मार्ते कर्मणि बहूनां मन्त्राणामेव स्मृत्या विनियोगात् । सामान्यसम्बन्धमात्रं वा गौरवभीत्या स्मृत्या बोध्यते ; विनियोगस्तत्र लैङ्गिक एवानूद्यते तदर्थशास्त्रवशात् । अत एव तन्निशीष्टिसम्बन्धः । अत एव वावन्तस्तोभादौ (वाचस्तोमादौ) मन्त्राणां विनियोगेनैव चरितार्थत्वात् प्रकरणाद्यनुरोधाभावाच्च किं विनियोगेनेति निरस्तम् ।

नन्दनस्तु—"सा नो अस्तु सुमङ्गली" इति फलाशंसनप्रतीतेः, अन्यत्रानुवादे देवतायाः फलदातृत्वेन कीर्तनात् देवतात्वमेवात्र उन्नीयते । भवति ह्यनुवादस्वरसान्निर्णयो यथा "द्वयोः प्रणयन्ति" इत्यत्र "द्वाभ्यामेति" इति । तस्मान्न निशीष्टिसम्बन्धः ।

विवेकस्तु—कालपरत्वे मन्त्रस्य दृष्टार्थत्वं स्यात् । तस्माद्देवतापरत्वम् । कालो हि प्रयोगादधिकारसिद्ध्यर्थं स्मर्तव्यः । प्रवृत्तस्यार्थपरतया अनुतिष्ठतो न कालाभावशङ्का । पदार्था अपि यथा ये प्रयोगादौ बुद्धिस्थाः तदनुष्ठानशक्त्यवगमेनाधिकारात्, तथाप्यस्मिन् समयेऽनुष्ठातव्या इत्येतदर्थं स्मरणमपेक्षितमेव तेषाम् । अत एव पार्वणहोमे कालाभीज्यापक्षे नाश्रयित्वम् ; देवता च प्रधानप्रत्यासन्ना ; कालस्तु प्रयोगाङ्गतया व्यवहित इति देवतायामेव विनियोगः । बुद्धिद्वारेणैव देवता व्याप्रियते, कालस्तु स्वरूपेणेति बोधकस्य मन्त्रस्य देवतायामेवान्वयः । केचित्तु भवतूभयतो विनियोगः ; तथाप्यप्रामाण्यमित्याहुः । ननु प्रामाण्यरक्षणाय न स्मृतौ विनियोगः ; तद्वरमस्वारसिकोऽपि निशीष्टावेव विनियोगोऽस्तु, यागान्तरं च मन्त्रबलाद्विनियोगार्थं कल्प्यताम् ; देवतामन्त्रशून्ये वा विनियोगः कल्प्यताम् ; तद्बलादेव मान्त्रवर्णिकी देवता भविष्यति । मैवम् । न खलु प्रामाण्यं व्युत्पन्नम् । न चाद्यापि न्यायेन साधितम्, प्रथमाध्यायस्यासमाप्तत्वात्, येनैते कल्पनापेक्षतया पक्षाः स्वीकर्तव्याः । ननु पौरुषेयेण वाक्येन कथमपौरुषेयस्य मन्त्रस्यैकवाक्यत्वमिति । तद्बलाद्वाक्यहेतूपबृंहणात् अप्रामाण्याद्वेदस्यापि पौरुषेयत्वमिति केचित् । अन्ये तु नित्यानित्यसंयोगविरोधात् खलु पौरुषेयवेदवाक्ययोर्नैकवाक्यत्वम् । अत्र तु पौरुषेयत्वेऽपि स्मृतिपरंपरया अनादित्वात् न नित्यानित्यसंयोगदोषः ; सकलकालीनस्मृतिसाधारणस्याष्टकाकार्यवाचित्वस्य पुरस्कृतत्वात् । नन्वेवं सिद्धान्तेऽपि श्रुतिविरुद्धाप्रमाणीभूतस्मृत्येकवाक्यतया वेदस्य प्रामाण्यम् न स्यात् । मैवम् । सिद्धान्तेऽपि तस्य लोभादिप्रभवाचारमूलत्वादिदंप्रथमतया नैकवाक्यत्वम् । पूर्वपक्षे नैतावताशेषविहितानां मन्वादीनां तथा मूलत्वं युक्तमिति स्मृतिपरंपरैवेयम् । येषां तु सिद्धान्ते विरोधाधिकरणे मर्थधारैव (अर्थधीरेव) भ्रान्तेर्निमित्तम् ? तेनात इदं वोर्ध्वदुम्यारेहरं एवं ? "धन्वन्निव प्रपा असि" इत्यर्थवादः प्रपापेक्षित्वादप्रमाणम् । ननु दूरस्थायाः स्मृतेर्नानुवादो युज्यते ; पदैकवाक्यतया

हि तस्यान्वयो व्यवधाने च न स्यात् । सत्यम् । अन्यस्यैव विधेरयमर्थवादः ; किन्तु प्रपानुवादतया स्मृत्या सह वाक्यैकवाक्यतापन्न एव । एवं दर्शपूर्णमासादिविधिरपि स्मार्ताचमनाद्यपेक्षः—इति त्रिविधस्य वेदस्याप्रामाण्यम् इति ।

पूर्वपक्षस्तु—न स्मृतीनां वेदमूलत्वं युक्तम्, वेदस्यानुपलम्भात् । न वोच्छिन्ना शाखा मूलम्, शाखोच्छेदसंभवक्रमेण सर्वशाखोच्छेदप्रसंगात् । यथा प्रत्यक्षाया अपि श्रुतेर्मेधाबलशालिभिरधीयमानाया उच्छेदो न संभाव्यते । अन्यथा तस्या अपि कथम् ? यत्तु दूषणम्—शाखोच्छेदसंभवे पठ्यमानायामपि शाखायां पदवर्णादिकविच्छेदशङ्कया असंगतिः स्यादिति, न तद्दूषणम् ; न हि पौरुषेयेषु ग्रन्थेषु कस्यचिदुच्छेदो भवति, एतावता सर्वेष्वपि पौरुषेयेषु ग्रन्थेषु पदवर्णोच्छेदाशङ्कयानाश्वासो भवति । तस्मादसंभावितः ; चेच्छाखोच्छेदः संभवी ततः पदवर्णोच्छेदोऽपि संभवेत् । अथ पठ्यमानशाखागतान्येव वाक्यानि मूलम्, तानि तु नानाशाखागतत्वात् नानाप्रकरणस्थत्वाच्चास्मदादिभिस्तदर्थत्वेननाकल्यन्ते ; अतिशयिततपोज्ञानशालिभिस्तु मन्वादिभिस्तेषामाकलनम् ; न चार्वाचीनेभ्यो मन्वादीनामतिशयितत्वे कश्चित् विप्रतिपद्यते इत्युच्यते—तन्न । एतावतो वैदिकात्कर्मणो बहुतरस्य स्मार्तकर्मराशेः प्रतिपादको वेदः प्रच्छन्न इति युक्तिविरोधात् । यदि च प्रत्यक्षवेदमूलैव स्मृतिः स्यात् ततस्तैरेव कानिचित् कर्माणि स्मार्तानि कानिचित् श्रौतानीति न व्यपदिश्यते ; व्यपदिशन्ति च स्मर्तारः—"कर्म स्मार्तं विवाहाग्नौ श्रौतं वैतानिकाग्निषु" इति। तथा "ऐकाश्रम्यं त्वाचार्यः प्रत्यक्षवेदमूलत्वाद्गार्हस्थ्यस्य", इति गोतमेवचनं स्मार्तानामपि प्रव्रज्यादीनां प्रत्यक्षवेदमूलकत्वे न घटते । न च मन्त्रार्थवादमूलत्वं स्मृतीनां युज्यते, तयोरविधायकत्वात् । यां जनेतिमन्त्रानुपपत्त्या रात्रिदेवताककर्मकल्पना स्यात्, न त्वष्टकाकार्यस्य तास्ता इतिकर्तव्यताः सर्वाः । प्रयोगविधिमूलत्वं मानवादीनां (न) युज्यते, प्रयोगविधेः विनियोगासामर्थ्यात् । न चैवं स्मृतिपरंपरेयं प्रमाणम्, अन्धपरंपरातुल्यत्वात् । तस्मादनादिरेवायं व्यामोह इति ।

राद्धान्तस्तु—यद्यपि प्रत्यक्षो वेदो योग्यानुपलब्ध्या निराकृतः, तथापि नित्यानुमेयो वेदो मूलं भविष्यति । किं पुनर्वेदानुमाने लिङ्गम् ? न तावत् स्मृतित्वमात्रम् ; बौद्धादिस्मृतिभिर्व्यभिचारात् ; नापि मन्वादिस्मृतित्वम्, बाधितस्मृतिभिर्व्यभिचारात् । उच्यते । परिशेषानुमानमिदम् । वाक्यं हि पञ्चान्यतमकारणकमिदम् × × × भ्रान्त्या।विज्ञानं चेति पञ्च कारणानि । तदिदं महाजनपरिग्रहेण चतुष्टयं निरस्तम् । पारिशेष्यात् ज्ञानमवशिष्टम् । न चात्रानैकान्तिकतोद्भावनमर्हति, शेषाजन्यस्य विज्ञानजन्यत्वाव्यभिचारात् । ज्ञानमपि चात्र न शास्त्रातिरिक्तं संभाव्यते, विनियोगस्य प्रमाणान्तरावेद्यत्वात् । न च वेदस्याप्यसंभावना, वेदार्थानुष्ठाने कर्तॄणामेव स्मरणात् ; स्वयं च वेदमूलार्थज्ञानत्वात् । अत एव शाक्यादिस्मृतीनां न वेदमूलत्वं तेषामनङ्गीकृत-

यथैव शून्यात्प्रतिमादितश्च
ज्ञानं तदाकारमुदेति तत्र ॥ ३७ ॥
सर्वे पदार्थाश्च तथैव शून्याः
शून्येभ्य एव ह्युदिता भवन्ति ।

सर्वस्य हि भावस्य हेतुफलाव्यतिरेकेणावस्थितिं निःस्वभावस्य प्रतिबिम्बस्य हेतुफलव्यवस्थां च जानानः कः पण्डितो निश्चिनुयाद्रूपवेदनादीन् हेतुफलाभ्यामव्यतिरेकेण स्थितान् सत्तामात्रमुपलभ्य सस्वभावान् । तस्मात् सत्तोपलम्भेऽपि न स्वभावतो जन्मास्ति ॥ यथोक्तम्[1] ।

आदर्शे सुपरिशुद्धे स्वभावरहितं यथा ।
प्रतिबिम्बं दृष्टमेवं द्रुम धर्मान्निबोधत ॥ इति ।

(124,8) अत एव

सत्यद्वये चापि पुनः स्वभावा-
भावान्न नित्या न च तेऽपि छिन्नाः ॥ ३८ ॥

यस्मादेवं भावा प्रतिबिम्बाकारवत् स्वभावशून्याः । तस्मादेव परमार्थ-संवृतिसत्यद्वयविभागेऽपि स्वभावस्य स्वरूपस्याभावान्नैवोच्छिन्ना न च शाश्वताः ॥ यथोक्तं शास्त्रे[2]

अस्ति यद्धि स्वभावेन न तन्नास्तीति शाश्वतम् ।
नास्तीदानीमभूत्पूर्वमित्युच्छेदः प्रवर्तते ॥ इति ।

(124,20) तथा[3]

भावमभ्युपपन्नस्य शाश्वतोच्छेददर्शनम् ।
प्रसज्यते स भावो हि नित्योऽनित्योऽथवा भवेत् ॥

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1. Cited in prose form in शिक्षास० p. 261, l. 18: यत्स्वभाव-शून्यमादर्शमण्डले सुपरिशुद्धे संदृश्यते प्रतिबिम्बम् । तथैव द्रुम जानीहीमान् धर्मान् ।

2. म० शास्त्र XV. II.

3. *Ibid.* XXI. 14. Our Tib. text (p. 125, l. 1) read dṅos-po -med-par. Read yod-par. (L.V.P.).

इत्याद्युक्तम् ॥ तथा[1]

यथा निर्मितकं शास्ता निर्मिमीतर्द्धिसम्पदा ।
निर्मितो निर्मिमीतान्यं स च निर्मितकः पुनः ॥

तथा निर्मितकाकारः कर्ता यत्कर्म तत्कृतम् ।
तद्यथा निर्मितेनान्यो निर्मितो निर्मितस्तथा ॥

क्लेशाः कर्माणि देहाश्च कर्तारश्च फलानि च ।
गन्धर्वनगराकारा मरीचिस्वप्नसन्निभाः ॥

इति निर्मितकदृष्टान्तेन निःस्वभान्निःस्वभावानामुत्पादो देशितः ॥

(125,19) तस्मादेवं न केवलं सत्यद्वयेऽपि स्वभावाभावेन शाश्वतोच्छेददृष्टिर्दूरात्यक्ता । चिरनिरुद्धकर्मभ्योऽपि कर्मणां फलसम्बन्ध [2]आलयविज्ञानसन्तानाविप्र[3]णाशप्रा[4]प्त्यादिकमपरिकल्पयित्वाप्युपपन्नः । कथम् ।

यस्मात्स्वभावेन न तन्निरुद्धं
विनालयं शक्तिरियं हि तस्मात् ।
चिरान्निरुद्धादपि कर्मणश्च
क्वचित्फलं संभवतीति विद्धि ॥ ३९ ॥

यस्य दर्शने कर्म निरुध्यते स निरुद्धात्तत्कर्मणः कथं फलं भविष्यतीत्याक्षेपपरिहारतया निरुद्धकर्मणः शक्तिं व्यवस्थापयितुं कल्पयत्यालयविज्ञानं ऋणपत्रसदृशमविप्रणाशं धर्मान्तरं वा प्राप्तिं वा कर्मवासनावासितविज्ञान-

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1. Ibid. XVII. 31—33. Tib. reads यः (=gaṅ-shig) for अन्य (=gshan-shig).

2. Tib. reads आलयविज्ञानसन्तान as if it is a Tatpuruṣa compound. Here it must be taken as a Dvandva compound(आलय and विज्ञानसन्तान).

3. See म० वृ० p. 311, l. 6 (L. V. P.).

4. According to Sarvāstivādin Prāpti is one of the Cittaviprayuktasamskāradharmas. *See* Th. Stcherbatsky : Conception of Buddhism, pp. 26, 105.

सन्ततिं वा । यस्यतु दर्शने नैवोत्पद्यते स्वभावेन । न हि तद्दर्शने तन्निरुध्यते । नाप्यनिरुद्धात्फलोद्भवासंभवोऽपीति कर्माविनाशे कर्मफलसम्बन्धः सुत[1]रामुपपद्यते ॥ यथोक्तं शास्त्रे[2] ।

कर्म नोत्पद्यते कस्मान्निःस्वभावं यतस्ततः ।
यस्माच्च तदनुत्पन्नं न तस्माद्विप्रणश्यति ॥ इति ।

सूत्रेऽपि[3] ।

नरायुर्मा वर्षशतं जीविन् तावद्धि भाषसे ।
वर्षपुञ्जी सञ्चिता न सिद्धिरेषापि तत्समा ॥
अक्षीणमिति यत्प्रोक्तं क्षीणं कर्मेति यत्स्मृतम् ।
शून्यनीत्याऽक्षीणमुक्तं क्षीणं व्यवहृतेर्नयात् ॥ इति ।

(127,12) यथोक्तमेवार्थं दृष्टान्तमुखेनाह ।

स्वप्नोपलब्धान् विषयान् समीक्ष्य
प्रबुद्धमूढस्य रतिर्ह्युदेति ।
असत्स्वभावाच्च तथा निरुद्धात्
फलं भवत्येव हि कर्मणोऽपि ॥ ४० ॥

(127,17) यथोक्तं भवसङ्क्रान्तिसूत्रे[4] । तद्यथा महाराज पुरुषः सुप्तः स्वप्ने जनपदकल्याण्या स्त्रिया सार्धं परिचरेत् । स शयितविबुद्धो जनपदकल्याणीं

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1. Tib. ches. śin. tu : सुतराम् ?

2. म० शास्त्र XVII, 21. (L. V. P.).

3. Non identifie (L. V. P.). The first of these two verses is cited in prose form with a slight modification in the Śikṣāsamuccaya p. 262, l. 10 यथा भणसि मनुष्याणामायुः परिमाणं वर्षशतं जीविन् । नचास्ति वर्षपुञ्जी । अयमपि समुदागमस्तद्वत् ।

4. Kandjour, Mdo, XVII, Csoma feer. The Sanskrit text of this Sūtra has been restored from the Tib. version and published in the J. O. R. M. Vol. V. Dr. Poussin compares this extract with that

स्त्रियमनुस्मरेत् । तत्किं मन्यसे महाराज[1] स पुरुषः पाण्डितजातीयी भवेत् । यः[2] स्वप्ने जनपदकल्याण्या स्त्रिया सार्धं परिचरेत् । तच्छयितविबुद्धस्तां जनपदकल्याणीं स्त्रियमनुस्मरेत् । नो हीदं भगवन् । तत्कस्य हेतोः । [3]स्वाप्ने जनपदकल्याणी स्त्री हि भगवन् न संविद्यते । नोपलभ्यते । कुतः पुनरनया[सार्धं] परिचरणा । [4]एवं स पुरुषो विघातस्य क्लमथस्य भागी स्यात् । भगवानाह । एवमेव महाराज बालोऽश्रुतवान् पृथग्जनश्चक्षुषा रूपाणि दृष्ट्वा सौमनस्यस्थानीयानि रूपाण्यभिनिविशेत् । [5]अभिनिविष्टः[6] संरज्यते । संरक्तो रागजं द्वेषजं मोहजं कर्म कायवाङ्मनोभिरभिसंस्करोति । तच्चाभिसंस्कृतं कर्म निरुध्यते । निरुद्धं न पूर्वां दिशं निश्रित्य तिष्ठति । यावन्न विदिशामिति । कदाचित्कालान्तरेण मरणकाल[7] उपस्थिते[8]तत्स[9]भागस्य कर्मणः क्षयात् चरमविज्ञाने निरुद्धे तस्यैव कर्मणो [10]मनोऽभिमुखी भवति तद्यथापि नाम सुप्तशायितविबुद्धस्य जनपदकल्याणी स्त्री । एवं हि महाराज चरमविज्ञानं निरुध्यते । औपपत्त्यंशिकं प्रथमविज्ञानमुत्पद्यते यदि वा देवेषु । यावद्यदि वा प्रेतेष्विति । तस्य च महाराज प्रथमविज्ञानस्य समनन्तरनिरुद्धस्य

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of the Pitāputrasamāgama Sūtra cited in the Śikṣāsamuccaya p. 252, l. 3. The same corresponding passages of the Pitā. Sūtra are also found in the Bodhicaryāvatārapañcikā p. 477, l. 3.

1. The restored Sanskrit text of the Bhavasaūkrānti Sūtra (=भ०सं०) add संविद्यते सा जनपदकल्याणी । आह । नो हीदं भगवन् । भगवानाह । तत्किं मन्यसे महाराज ।

2. भ०सं० : यः स्वप्ने जन......णींस्त्रियमाभिनिविशेत् ।

3. भ०सं० and शि०स० add अत्यन्ततया तु

4. भ०स० : स पुरुषः omitted. शि०स० : अन्यत्र यावदेव for एवं

5. शि०स० and बो०प० : सोऽभि०

6. भ०सं० add अनुरज्यते । अनुरक्तः, शि०स० सन्ननुनीयते । अनुनीतः

7. भ०स० and शि०स० add समय.

8. शि०स० add जीवितेन्द्रियनिरोध आयुषः परिक्षयात्

9. सभागकर्मन्—see the article 'Death (Buddhist)', in Encyclopaedie of Hastings and compendium (P. T. S. 1910), p. 72,(L. V. P.)

10. भ०स० : तत्कर्म कदाचित् ......मनसोऽभिमुखी भवति । शि०स० : तत् (कर्म) पुनः काला०......चरमविज्ञानस्य निरुध्यमानस्य मनस आरम्भणी भवति ।

तत्स[1]भागा चित्तसन्ततिः प्रवर्तते यत्र विपाकस्य प्रतिसंवेदना प्रज्ञायते । तत्र महाराज न कश्चिद्धर्मोऽस्माल्लोकात्परलोके संक्रामति । च्युत्युपपत्ती प्रज्ञायेते । तत्र महाराज यश्चरमविज्ञानस्य निरोधः सा च्युतिरिति संज्ञा । यः प्रथमविज्ञानस्य प्रादुर्भावः सोपपत्तिरिति संज्ञा । चरमविज्ञानं महाराज निरोधेऽपि न क्वचिद्गच्छति । औपपत्त्यांशिकं [2]विज्ञानं प्रादुर्भावेऽपि न कुतश्चिदागच्छति । तत्कस्य हेतोः । स्वभावरहितत्वात् । तत्र महाराज चरमविज्ञानं चरमविज्ञानेन शून्यम् । च्युतिश्च्युत्या शून्या । कर्म कर्मणा शून्यम् । प्रथमविज्ञानं प्रथमविज्ञानेन शून्यम् । उपपत्तिरुपपत्त्या शून्या । [3]कर्मणामविप्रणाशश्च प्रज्ञायते । इति ॥

(129,18) अथ यदि स्वभावेनानुत्पन्नस्य क्षयाभावाद्विपाक इष्यते । तथा च सति यथा अनिरुद्धत्वाद्विपाकप्रादुर्भावः । तथा कृतविपाकस्यापि कर्मणो विपाकः । तत्र कर्मण अक्षयाद्विपक्वमपि कर्म पुनर्विपक्ष्यतीत्यनवस्था-दोषः स्यात् इति । नैष विद्यते ।

असत्त्वतुल्यो विषयो यथापि
केशाकृतिस्तैमिरिकेन दृष्टः ।
न ह्यन्यवस्त्वाकृतिरेवमेव
पाकान्न पाकोऽस्ति पुनश्च वेत्सि ॥ ४१ ॥

यथा अविद्यमानसदृशो विषयस्तैमिरिकेनाविद्यमानकेशादिरूपं दृश्यते । न तु तदन्यवस्त्वाकाराः खरशृङ्गवन्ध्यासुतादयः । तथा कर्मणः स्वभावोऽनि-रुद्धसमो विपाकं नियमयति ॥

(130,13) दृष्टान्तेनानेन न केवलं कर्मणामनियमो नास्ति । विपाक-नियमोऽप्यस्तीत्याह ।

तस्मादशुभविपाकं कृष्णकर्म
शुभविपाकं शुभकर्म दृष्टम्[4] ।

1. शि०स० : अनन्तरसभागा. बो०प० : अनन्तरं सभा०
2. भ०सं० and शि०स० add प्रथम.
3. शि०स० : अबन्ध्यता.
4. These two lines do not admit of being put into metre.

शुभाशुभाभावमतिर्विमुक्तः
न्यषेधि वै कर्मफलेषु चिन्ता ॥ ४२ ॥

यद्यपि शुभाशुभकर्मद्वयस्वभावो नास्ति । तथापि केशादिदर्शनस्य नियततत्वान्नेष्टो विपाकोऽशुभकर्मकः । नानिष्टः शुभकर्मकः । शुभाशुभकर्मानालम्बनेन हि विमुच्यते । अत एव भगवता पृथग्जना अत्यन्तमेकान्तचारिणः कर्मफलापवादात्संवृतिनाशका भवेयु[1] रिति मत्वा कर्मणां फलविपाकोऽचिन्त्य इति कर्मफलाश्रिता चिन्ता प्रतिषिद्धा ॥

यद्येवं कर्मणां फलसम्बन्धो व्यवस्थाप्यते । तर्हि [2]आर्यलङ्कावतारसूत्रादिषु यदालयविज्ञानमनन्तधर्मशक्तिविशेषालयं सर्वबीजं तरङ्गाणामुदधिरिव सर्वभावजन्महेतुरुक्तम् । तत्किं सर्वथा नास्ति । मैवम् । तथोपदेष्ट्रा विनेयेभ्यस्तदस्तितया देशितत्वात् । सर्वभावस्वभावानुग[3] माय शून्यतैवालयविज्ञानशब्देन देशिता वेदितव्या । न केवलमालयविज्ञानमस्ति । किन्तु पुद्गलोऽप्यस्ति । स हि तदस्तितां विनेयजनानामनुग्रहार्थं दिदेश । [4]यथोक्तम् । भारो हि भिक्षवः पञ्चस्कन्धाः । भारहारः पुद्गल इति । केषाञ्चित्स्कन्धमात्रं दिदेश । यदुच्यते । [5] चित्तमिति वा मन इति वा विज्ञानमिति वा । तद्धि दीर्घकालं शीलादिपरिभावितमूर्ध्वगाम्यायत्यां स्वर्गं गमिष्यति इति ॥

सर्वमेतत्प्रयोजनवशेनोक्तम् । किं तत्प्रयोजनम् । उच्यते ।

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1. Tib. ḥgyur. du. hoṅ. ṅo = भवेत्. compare the forms like ma .. bsad. du hoṅ. ṅo = मा......व्यपरोपयेम् in म० वृ० p. 464, n. 2 and ḥgyur. du. hoṅ. ba = भवेत् instead of Skt. माभूत्. *Ibid*. p. 319, n. 3.

2. *See* लङ्कावतारसूत्र p. 220 and the following.

3. We may also read अनुप्रवेश here.

4. Compare the extract cited in the तत्त्वसङ्ग्रहपञ्जिका (Gaekwads Oriental Series No. 30, 31.) p. 130.

5. Dr. poussin draws attention to two passages in Samyutta, II. p. 94 and the following: यञ्च खो एतं भिक्खवे वुच्चति चित्तमिति पि मनो इति पि विञ्ञाणमिति पि···and *Ibid*.V, p. 370. यञ्च रत्ति तं चित्तं दीघरत्तं सद्धापरिभावितं सीलसुतचागपञ्ञापरिभावितं तं उद्धं गामी होति विसेसगामी. He also suggests the reading dad. dan. tshal = श्रद्धाशील in page 132, l. 5.

एवं हि गम्भीरतरान् पदार्थान्
न वेत्ति यस्तं प्रतिदेशनेयम् ।
अस्त्यालयः पुद्गल एव चास्ति
स्कन्धा इमे वा खलु धातवश्च[1] ॥ ४३ ॥

ये खलु विनेयास्तीर्थिकदृष्टौ चिरमभ्यासं कृत्वा गाभीरायां धर्मतायामवतर्तुमक्षमाः 'नास्त्यात्मा' 'नास्त्युत्पादः' इति यथादेशितधर्मतां श्रुत्वा त्रस्ता आदावेव शून्यतोपदेशं प्रपातसदृशं मन्यन्ते । ते तद्विमुखा न महान्तमर्थं साधयिष्यन्ति । प्रथमतरमालयविज्ञानादिदेशनया तु तीर्थिकमतं प्रत्याख्याय [2]तन्महार्थमावक्ष्यन्ति । पश्चात्प्रवचनाविपरीतार्थवेदिनः स्वयमेव तानि त्यक्ष्यन्ति । इति गुण एव भवेत् । न दोषः । यथोक्तमार्यदेवेन[3]

(133,3) यद्यद्यस्य प्रियं पूर्वं तत्तत्तस्य समाचरेत् ।

न हि प्रतिहतः पात्रं सद्धर्मस्य कथंचन ॥

(133,8) न केवलमालयविज्ञानादिकं देशित प्रथममवतारणाय । किन्तु

सत्कायदृष्ट्या रहितोऽपि बुद्ध
आभाषतेऽहं च यथा ममेति ।
तथापि भावप्रकृतावसत्या-
मस्तीति नेयार्थतया प्रवक्ति ॥ ४४ ॥

सकलसत्कायदृष्टिप्रहाणात् अहंकारममकारप्रहाणेऽपि लोकेनावगन्तव्योपायार्थं 'अहं' 'मम' इति व्यपदिशति । भगवान् 'अहं' 'मम' इत्येवं यथा भाषते । तथा भावानां स्वभावेऽसत्यपि तदस्तितयोपादिशति । लोकेनावगन्तव्योपायार्थमस्तितया कथयति ।

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1. सुभाषितसङ्ग्रह fol. 25. Tib. reads खलु केवलं च ।

2. *Cf.* लङ्का० सूत्र p. 79.

3. Cited in म०वृ० p. 370 l. 2, and सुभाषितसङ्ग्रह fol. 9. (with हित replacing प्रिय) (L. V. P.). Compare लङ्का० सूत्र p. 149. यद्येनाधिमुच्यते तत्तस्य देशयेत् .

(134,1) यथोक्तं पूर्वशैलगाथासु

यदि लोकविनेतॄणां न हि लोकानुवर्तना ।
का बुद्धधर्मता स्याच्च बुद्धं कश्चिन्न वेत्स्यति ॥

स्कन्धान् धातूनायतनमेकरूपाणि भाषते ।
धातुत्रयं च देशेति एषा लोकानुवर्तना ॥

[1]धर्माननामकानेव अचिन्त्यैः किल नामभिः ।
सत्त्वान् हि परिभाषेति एषा लोकानुवर्तना ॥

अभावमुपदेशेति बुद्धप्रकृतिनिष्ठया ।
अभावः कोऽपि नास्तीह एषा लोकानुवर्तना ॥

अर्थानर्थादर्शनं च निरोधः पारमार्थिकः ।
वदतां वच उत्कृष्टं एषा लोकानुवर्तना ॥

अविनाशमनुत्पन्नं धर्मधातुसमं जगत् ।
[2]सत्त्वधातुं च देशेति एषा लोकानुवर्तना ॥

त्रिषु अध्वसु सत्त्वानां प्रकृतिं नोपलभ्यति ।
सत्त्वधातुं च देशेति एषा लोकानुवर्तना[3] ॥

इति विस्तरः ।

(135,13) तस्मादेवं विज्ञानवादी यथाप्रदर्शितं मध्यमकमतमसहमानः स्वविकल्पेन [4]प्रयोगसमयाभिधानद्वारा [5]अर्थस्थापकैः यथोक्तमतं निराकर्तुमाह ।

प्रज्ञाविहारी स हि बोधिसत्त्वः
विज्ञानमात्रप्रतिबुद्धतत्त्वः ।

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1. Tib. chos, kyi, rnams. *See* Fucuax : Tib. Grammar, p. 33.
2. Tib. तेजः कल्पं च.
3. The last two verses are cited in म०वृ० p. 548, l. 6 (L.V.P.).
4. =Sbyar. baḥi. lugs. *Cf.* p. 174. l. 14 above.
5. =Don. dag. ḥjog. par. byed. pa

words *kālam*, *ulakam* etc., mentioned in this sūtra never take *āṇpāl*, *peṇpāl* or *palarpāl* verbs unless there is a change in the form of words like *kālaṉ* for *kālam* etc.

Note 3.—The meaning given above is that accepted by Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar.

Note 4.—Teyvaccilaiyār, on the other hand, differs from them. He splits the sūtra into 2 sentences:—'*kālam...kiḷavi-y-ellām uyartiṇai mēṉa;* (*avai*) *pāl pirinticaiyā.* (The words *kālam* etc., belong to *uyartiṇai;* but they do not take *āṇpāl peṇpāl* or *palarpāl* verbs.) That they take *aḵṟiṇai* verbs is sanctioned, according to him, by the sūtra '*Icaittalu m-uriya vēṟiṭat t-āṉa*' (Tol. Col. 59).

There are three objections against Teyvaccilaiyār's interpretation. (1) That the words *kālam*, *teyvam* which denote gods are *uyartiṇai* is already learnt from the statement

Teyvañ cuṭṭiya peyar-nilai-k kiḷavi
Uyartiṇai maruṅkiṟ pāl-pirin t-icaikkum.

in the fourth sūtra of *kiḷavi-y-ākkam.* Hence it need not be repeated here. That the word *ulakam* when it means people is *uyartiṇai* has already been mentioned in Tol. Col. 2. (2) If the sūtra is split into two sentences, it gives room to *vākyabhēda* or sentence-split. (3) If the sūtra '*Icaittalu m-uriya vēṟiṭat t-āṉa*' is taken to mention that *aḵṟiṇai* verbs follow the words *kālam*, *ulakam* etc., there will then be no sūtra to sanction the usage '*kālaṉ vantāṉ*'.

Note 5.—This sūtra has to be taken as an *apavāda* or exception to the second part of Tol. Col. 4 and '*Icaittalum......* (Tol. Col. 59) has to be taken as an *apavāda* to this sūtra and *pratiprasava* or exception of the exception to the second part of Tol. Col. 4.

58. நின்ருங் கிசைத்த லிவணியல் பின்றே.
Niṉṟ-āṅ k-icaitta l-ivaṇ-iyal p-iṉṟē.

It is not in their nature to take *uyartiṇai* verbs without modification in their form.

Note 1.—This sūtra suggests that the words *kuṭimai, āṇmai* etc., mentioned in Tol. Col. 56 may take *uyartiṇai* verbs without having any change in their form.

59. இசைத்தலு முரிய வேறிடத் தான.
Icaittal-u m-uriya vēṟiṭat t-āṉa.

They (the words *kālam* etc.) may take *āṇpāl, peṇpāl* or *palarpāl* verbs in other places.

Ex. Kālaṉ uyirai-k koṇṭāṉ.
(Yama took away life.)
Ulakar pacittār.
(People felt hungry.)

Note 1.—The word *vēṟiṭam* (other places) refers to change in their form like *kālaṉ* for *kālam* etc.

Note 2.—*Vēṟiṭam* is taken by Teyvaccilaiyār to refer to *aḵṟiṇai*. It has already been mentioned under Tol. Col. 57 that it is not a satisfactory interpretation.

60. எடுத்த மொழியினஞ் செப்பலு முரித்தே.
Eṭutta moḻi-y-iṉañ ceppalu m-urittē.

A sentence which is expressed may suggest related ideas.

Ex. 'Kīḻai-c-cēri-k-kōḻi veṉṟatu' eṉiṉ 'mēlai-c-cēri-k-kōḻi vīḻntatu' eṉpatu peṟa-p-paṭum.

(If it is said that the cock of the eastern side of the village came out victorious, it is suggested that the cock of the western side was defeated.)

Note 1.—It is worthy of note that it is not obligatory that the expression should always suggest related ideas. If one says '*antaṇar vāḻka*' (may the brahmins live), it does not suggest that *aracar* (kings) and *vaṇikar* (merchants) should not live long.

Note 2.—Iḷampūraṇar states under this sūtra that, if one says that the cock of the western side of the village came out victorious, it is evidently suggested that the cock of the eastern side was defeated and that, if one says that the man carrying a pot fell down, it is evidently suggested that the pot also fell down. He also adds that, if one says that cows and brahmins should live, it is not suggested that others should die. Cēṉāvaraiyar criticises him thus:—In the first two examples the suggested fact is *ananyathāsiddha* or the invariable concomitant to the expressed fact. The suggested meaning comes only by *poruḷ-āṟṟal* or the suggestive power of the meaning of the sentence and not by *col-l-āṟṟal* or the suggestive power of the sentence. This objection cannot stand since he himself says that, if one says that virtuous man goes to heaven, it is suggested that the sinner goes to hell. The suggested meaning here is only from *poruḷ-āṟṟal*. In the

third example he seems to have mistaken that Iḷampūraṇar meant that the words *ā* (cows) and *antaṇar* (brahmins) never meant related objects.

Iḷampūraṇar's example '*ā vāḻka, antaṇar vāḻka*' is exactly similar to Cēṉāvaraiyar's example '*Iḻivu aṟintū uṇpāṉkaṉ iṉpam eytum*'.

61. கண்ணுந் தோளு முலையும் பிறவும்
பன்மை சுட்டிய சினைநிலைக் கிளவி
பன்மை கூறுங் கடப்பா டிலவே
தம்வினைக் கியலு மெழுத்தலங் கடையே.
Kaṇṇun tōḷu mulaiyum piṟavum
Paṉmai cuṭṭiya ciṉai-nilai-k kiḷavi
Paṉmai kūṟuṅ kaṭappā ṭ-ilavē
Tam-viṉai-k k-iyalu m-eḻuttalaṅ kaṭaiyē.

The words denoting limbs in plural number like *kaṇ*, (eyes), *tōḷ* (shoulders), *mulai* (breasts) etc., need not denote the plural number unless they are followed by *palaviṉpāl* verbs.

Ex. Avaḷ kaṇ-ṇallaḷ.
(She is fair-eyed.)
Avaḷ kaṇṇāṟ kottai.
(She is blind.)

Note 1.—The following point is worthy of note here. The words *kaṇ*, *tōḷ* etc., may denote singular or plural since the addition of the particle *kaḷ* to denote plural was only optional (cf. Tol. Col. 169). In the sentences like '*kaṇ nontaṉa*' (eyes ached), the word *kaṇ* is evidently plural since it is followed by the plural verb *nontaṉa*. Similarly in sentences like '*kaṇ nontatū*' *kaṇ* is evidently singular since it is followed by the singular verb *nontatū*. But in expressions like '*kaṇṇāṟ kottai*', there is no element to ascertain whether *kaṇ* is singular or plural. Hence it may be singular or plural. Even if a man or a woman is blind by one eye, he or she is said to be blind by common people. Similarly in the example '*avaḷ kaṇ-ṇallaḷ*' where *avaḷ* is the subject and *kaṇ-ṇallaḷ* is the predicate, there is no element to determine whether *kaṇ* is singular or plural. It may be singular or plural. If a woman has one of her eyes very fine, it may be said that she is fair-eyed. Among Tamils the expression '*Kaṇṇaki mulai-y-ilāḷ*' is frequently heard. It means that *Kaṇṇaki* is devoid of a breast since there were statues of *Kaṇṇaki* with one breast.

Note 2.—Iḷampūranar, Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar interpret this sūtra thus:—The words *kaṇ, tōḷ* etc., which denote limbs and are plural in number need not be followed by a plural verb if they are not followed by verbs denoting their action; they may be followed by such verbs as suit the object or objects of which they are limbs. For example the word *kaṇ* may be followed by the singular predicate *nallaḷ* if the subject is *avaḷ* or *ivaḷ* and may be followed by the *palarpāl* predicate *nallar* if the subject is *avar* or *ivar* etc. In examples like *avaḷ kaṇ-ṇallaḷ*, the subject is *avaḷ* and the predicate is evidently the compound noun *kaṇ-ṇallaḷ*. Here what is the need for saying that *kaṇ* may not be followed by the verb *nallaṉa*. The intention of the speaker is to say something about the lady with respect to the fineness of her eyes and not to say anything about the eyes. Besides the word *kūṟum* which means *'denoting'* in the sentence *paṉmaikūṟum kaṭappāṭila'* does not convey any sense according to their interpretation. If their interpretation was correct, it should have been replaced by *'koḷḷum'*.

Note 3.—Teyvaccilaiyār's interpretation is this:—If the words *kaṇ, tōḷ* etc. are not followed by *palaviṉpāl* verbs, they may be followed by *oṉṟaṉpāl* verbs like *'kaṇ nontatu'* though such a sentence may mean 'eyes ached'. *Kaṇ* etc., in such cases may be taken as *jātyēkavacana*. Since the use of *jātyēkavacana* is sanctioned by the sūtra

Orumai cuṭṭiya peyar-nilai-k kiḷavi
Paṉmai-k kāku m-iṭaṉumā r-uṇṭē (Tol. Col. 46.)

and the sentence *'paṉmai-kūṟuṅ kaṭappāṭilavē'* found in this sūtra does not fit in with his interpretation, his interpretation also does not seem to be sound.

2. *Vēṟṟumai-y-iyal.*

62. வேற்றுமை தாமே யேழெனமொழிப.
Vēṟṟumai tāmē y-ēḻ-eṉa moḻipa.

It is said that cases are seven in number.

Note 1.—The word *tām* in the sūtra may be said to have been used either for the sake of euphony or to make up the number of syllables in the line.

Note 2.—Ēḻ is the old form of the modern *ēḻu*. cf. Tol. Eḻut. 389.

Note 3.—Case is called *vēṟṟumai* since it brings the object denoted by the noun in some relation to the action denoted by

the verb. The nominative case is included under *vēṟṟumai*, since the object denoted by the noun is also made the subject of the action denoted by the verb. This point is clearly mentioned by Teyvaccilaiyār. Cēṉāvaraiyar seems to have missed to note this point. Hence he says, at first, that the nominative case is included under *vēṟṟumai* since it is differentiated from other cases—accusative, instrumental etc. Being possibly not satisfied with this explanation he suggests an alternative reason that it is done so by the *chattri-nyāya* or the rule of the majority.

The vocative case is not included under the seven cases since it does not directly denote any relation of the noun to the verb which follows it. Hence it is mentioned separately in the next sūtra.

Note 4.—It is worth nothing that Tolkāppiyaṉār has mentioned in the sūtra

Ai-oṭu ku-iṉ atu-kaṇ ṇ-eṉṉum
A-v-v-ā ṟ-eṉpa vēṟṟumai y-urupē. (Tol. Eḻut. 114.)

that the *vēṟṟumai-y-urupū* or *case-suffixes* are *six* in number and here the cases are *seven* in number. Hence it is evident that the nominative case has no suffix.

Note 5.—What is the *iyaipū* (*saṅgati*) or the relationship of this chapter *vēṟṟumai-y-iyal* to the previous one *kiḷavi-y-ākkam*? The answer is found in *Note* 5 to the first sūtra in *kiḷavi-y-ākkam*. That is the opinion of Teyvaccilaiyār. But the other commentators :—Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar have given different opinions on the point, which deserve a careful examination here.

Iḷampūraṇar says that *kiḷavi-y-ākkam* deals with the four kinds of *col* or word (*i.e.*) *peyar-c-col* or noun, *viṉai-c-col* or verb, *iṭai-c-col* and *uri-c-col* and the following chapter *vēṟṟumai-y-iyal* deals with *peyar-c-col*.

Cēṉāvaraiyar condemns him for the following reasons:—

(1) If *vēṟṟumai-y-iyal* deals with nous, the sūtras

Ellā-c collum poruḷ-kuṟit taṉa-v-ē. (Tol. Col. 155.)
Poruṇmai terital-uñ coṉmai teritalum
Colli ṉ-āku m-eṉmaṉār pulavar. (*ibid.* 156.)
Teripu-vēṟu nilaiyal-uṅ kuṟippiṟ ṟōṉṟal-um
Iru-pāṟ ṟ-eṉpa poruṇmai nilai-y-ē. (*ibid.* 157.)
Col-l-eṉa-p paṭupa peyar-ē viṉai-y-eṉṟū

Ā-y-iraṉ ṭ-eṉpa v-aṟintici ṉ-ōr-ē. (*ibid.* 158.)
Iṭai-c-coṟ kiḷavi-y-u m-uri-c-coṟ kiḷavi-y-um
Avaṟṟu-vaḻi maruṅkiṟ ṟōṉṟu m-eṉpa. (*ibid.* 159.)

which deal with the definition and the classification of *col* or word and which are now found at the commencement of *peyar-iyal*, the fourth chapter, should have been mentioned at the commencument of this chapter. (2) The sūtras

Kūṟiya muṟai-y-i ṉ-urupu-nilai tiriyātu
Īṟu-peyar-k k-āku m-iyaṟkaiya v-eṉpa. (Tol. Col. 69.)
Poruṇmai cuṭṭāl viyaṅkoḷa varutal...(*ibid.* 66).
Peyar-nilai-k kiḷavi kālan tōṉṟā. (*ibid.* 70).

which, in his opinion, deal with the definition of *peyar-c-col*—that it takes case-suffixes after it or it is followed by a predicate and that it does not denote tense unless it is a *toḻiṟ-peyar* or verbal noun, should have preceded the sūtra

Vēṟṟumai tāmē y-ēḻ-eṉa moḻipa (Tol. Col. 62).

Having thus condemned Iḷampūraṇar he states his own reasons which are as follows:—(1) The *kiḷavi-y-ākkam* deals with the four kinds of words:—*peyar*, *viṉai*, *iṭai-c-col* and *uri-c-col* and this with *peyar* and *iṭai-c-col* since the case-suffixes are *iṭai-c-col* and they have to be suffixed to *peyar*. (2) Since *peyar-c-col* is that which takes case-suffixes after it, the cases should be dealt with before nouns. (3) No other context is more befitting than this.

As regards the first reason, it may be noted that all the sūtras in *kiḷavi-y-ākkam* except the first *ten* deal only with sentences and not with words. Hence it cannot stand. If the second reason holds good, the sūtras Tol. Col. 66, 69 and 70 should have been mentioned at the commencement of this chapter as he himself says in his condemnation of Iḷampūraṇar. The third reason needs no answer.

Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar thinks that this chapter deals with all the four kinds of *col* as *kiḷavi-y-ākkam* does since *vēṟṟumai* has to deal sometimes with a *peyar*, sometimes with a *viṉai*, sometimes with an *iṭai-c-col* and sometimes with an *uri-c-col*. Since *uri-c-col* has nothing to do with case, his reason also cannot stand.

Hence the opinion of Teyvaccilaiyār appears to be sound.

63. விளிகொள் வதன்கண் விளியோ டெட்டே.
Viḷi-koḷ vataṉ-kaṇ viḷi-y-ō ṭ-eṭṭ-ē.

The cases are eight when vocative, which is used when one is addressed, is included among them.

Note 1.—The subject here is *vēṟṟumai* mentioned in the previous sūtra.

Note 2.—Teyvaccilaiyār takes this sūtra and the previous one as one *sūtra*. This seems to be unsound since Tolkāppiyaṉār deals with the first seven cases in two chapters (*i.e.*) *vēṟṟu-mai-y-iyal* and *vēṟṟumai-mayaṅkiyal* and the vocative in a separate chapter *viḷi-marapù* and uses the two endings *moḻipa* and *eṭṭē* in the two lines. Besides the vocative case may be given a subordinate position relative to the other cases only if the two lines are taken as different sūtras.

64. அவைதாம்,
பெயர் ஐ ஒடு கு
இன் அது கண் விளி யென்னு மீற்ற.
Avaitām,
Peyar ai oṭu ku
Iṉ-atu kaṇ-viḷi y-eṉṉu m-īṟṟa.

They are *peyar-vēṟṟumai* (nominative), *ai-vēṟṟumai* (accusative), *oṭu-vēṟṟumai* (instrumental), *ku-vēṟṟumai* (dative), *iṉ-vēṟṟumai* (ablative), *atu-vēṟṟumai* (genitive), *kaṇ-vēṟṟumai* (locative) along with *viḷi-vēṟṟumai.*

Note 1.—The subject in the sūtra is *avai* which refers to *vēṟṟumai* mentioned above in the sūtra 62; the predicate is the compound word *peyar-ai-oṭu-ku-iṉ-atu-kaṇ;* and the compound word *viḷi-y-eṉṉu-m-īṟṟa* is a *viṉai-y-āl-aṇai-y-um-peyar* or verbal noun which stands in adjectival relation to the compound word *peyar-ai-oṭu-ku-iṉ-atu-kaṇ.*

Note 2.—Teyvaccilaiyār says that this sūtra deals with *case-suffixes.* But since the case-suffixes have already been mentioned in Tol. Eḻut. 114, this, sūtra would become unnecessary. Besides there would have been no sanction for Tolkāppiyaṉār to name the second case, the third case etc. as *ai-y-eṉa-p-peyar-iya-vēṟṟumai, oṭu-v-eṉa-p-peyariya-vēṟṟumai* etc. in the succeeding sūtras of this chapter.

Note 3.—Cēṉāvaraiyar says under this sūtra that though Tolkāppiyaṉār has named the third, and the sixth cases as *oṭu-vēṟṟumai* and *atu-vēṟṟumai,* yet the suffixes āṉ and ā also may respectively be used in the third and the sixth cases. So far as

ā<u>n</u> is concerned, he may be right since Tolkāppiyaṉār himself makes mention of it in the sūtra

Ku-ai āṉ-eṉa varūu m-iṟuti. (Tol. Col. 108.)

But Tolkāppiyaṉār does not seem to have mentioned '*a*' as a case-suffix, nor has he made use of it as a genitive suffix. Naṉṉūlār, on the other hand, says so. How '*a*' began to be used as the genitive suffix will be discussed later. This statement of Cēṉāvaraiyar makes me infer that he may have been later than Naṉṉūlār.

65. அவற்றுள்,
எழுவாய் வேற்றுமை பெயர்தோன்று நிலையே.
Avaṟṟuḷ,
Eḻuvāy vēṟṟumai peyar-tōṉṟu nilai-y-ē.

Of them the *peyar-vēṟṟumai* is used to denote the doer or the subject of the active verb.

Note 1.—In the interpretation of this sūtra there is much difference of opinion. Iḷampūraṇar, Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar and Teyvaccilaiyār seem to agree in the point that this sūtra deals with the meaning of the nominative case though they differ in the method of arriving at it. Iḷampūraṇar seems to take *eḻuvāy-vēṟṟumai-p-peyar* as the subject and (*payaṉilai*)-*tōṉṟu-nilai* as the predicate. The word *payaṉilai* is taken here from the following sūtra. *Eḻuvāy-vēṟṟumai-p-peyar,* according to him means the *vēṟṟumai-p-peyar* which is mentioned first (in the previous sūtra); *Payaṉilai-tōṉṟu-nilai* means the state of the predicate following it. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar seems to take *eḻuvāy-vēṟṟumai* as the subject and *peyar-*(*payaṉilai*)-*tōṉṟu-nilai* as the predicate. He too takes the word *payaṉilai* from the next sūtra; but he introduces it in the middle of the compound word *peyar-tōṉṟunilai,* which does not seem to be appropriate. Teyvaccilaiyār, on the other hand takes *eḻuvāy-vēṟṟumai* as the subject and *peyar-tōṉṟu-nilai* as the predicate, but seems to take *payaṉilai-k-ku-muṉ* as being understood before *peyar-tōṉṟu-nilai.*

Since the sūtras 71, 73, 75, 77, 79 and 81 respectively deal directly with the meaning of the accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative, it may be better if this sūtra also is interpreted in such a way that it may be said to deal *directly* with the meaning of the nominative case. Hence I venture to suggest that the word *eḻuvāy* would have been used before the time

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V. V. SRINIVASA IYENGAR. Retired Judge, High Court, Madras a Scholar and Connoisseur of Art.

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N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M.A., PH.D. Reader in Indian History, University of Madras.

N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI, MĪMĀṀSĀ ŚIROMAṆI. He was working for some time in the Sānti Niketan. Now Lecturer in Sanskrit in the Madras Ayurveda College, Mylapore. Knows Tibetan and other languages.

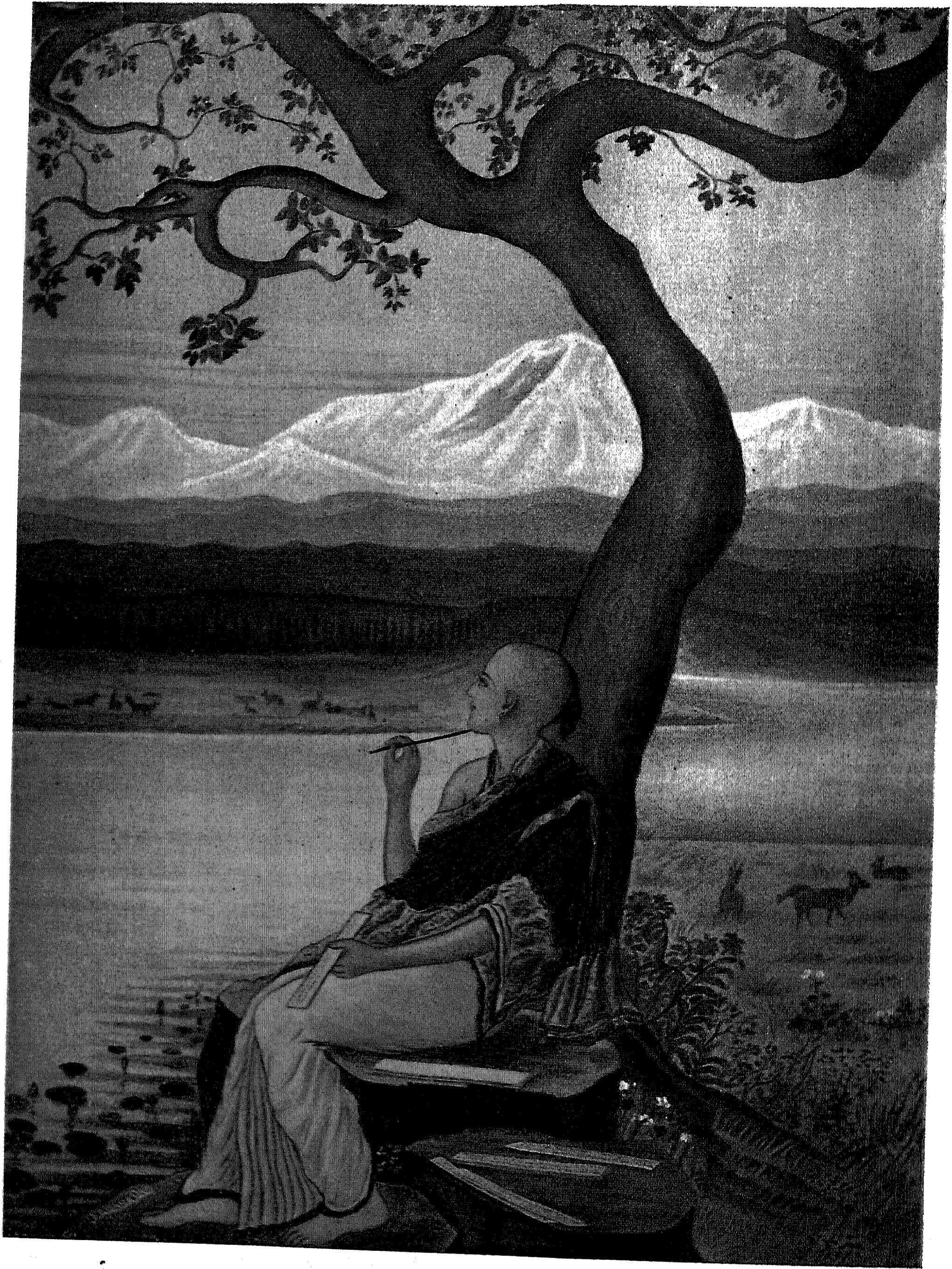
T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A. A Research Student of the Madras University for three years under Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri. He is now the Senior Lecturer in the Oriental Research Institute, University of Madras.

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI. M.A., PH.D. A very good scholar in Tamil and Sanskrit. Principal, Raja's Sanskrit and Tamil College, Trivadi.

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Kālidāsa (An artist's fancy).

By L. Krishnadas, Advocate.

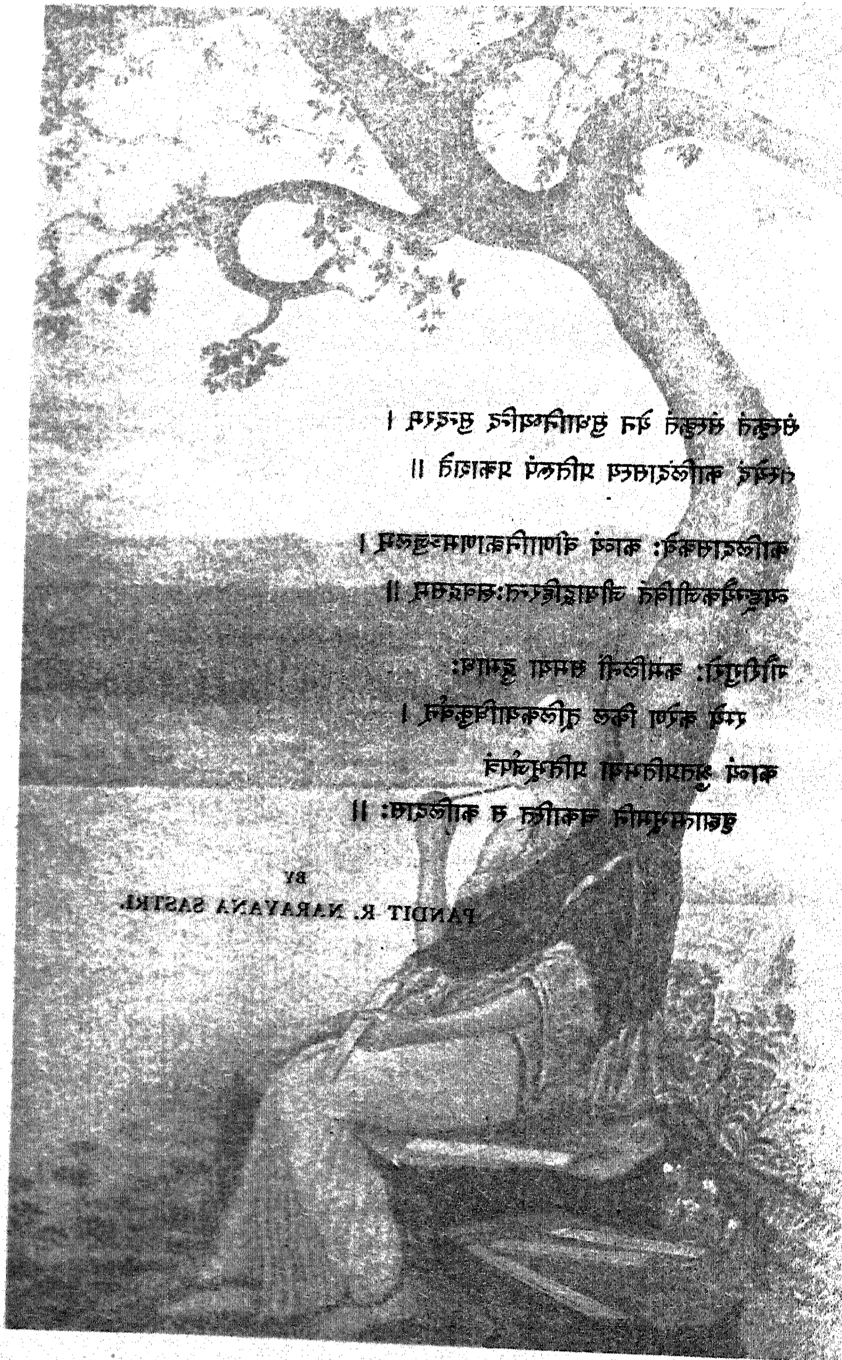
संस्कृतं संस्कृतं येन सुधानिष्यन्दि सुन्दरम् ।
तस्येदं कालिदासस्य प्रतिरूपं प्रकाशते ॥

कालिदासकवेः काव्यं वीणानिक्वाणमञ्जुलम् ।
व्यङ्ग्यैकजीवितं जीयाद्बहिरन्तःस्रवद्रसम् ॥

गौरीगुरोः कमलिनीं समया द्रुमाधः
रम्ये करेण किल तूलिकयाधिकुर्वन् ।
काव्यं श्रुतप्रतिभया प्रतिभूर्जपत्रं
वृह्मात्मभूमनि चकास्ति स कालिदासः ॥

BY

PANDIT R. NARAYANA SASTRI.



Kālidāsa (An artist's fancy).

By L. Krishnadas, Advocate.

SIR ALLADI KRISHNASWAMI AIYAR,

Advocate-General, Madras and
Member of the Editorial Board.

We have great pleasure in expressing our heartfelt felicitations to *Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar,* a distinguished member of our Editorial Committee, on the great and well-merited distinction of *Knighthood* that has been conferred on him by the Government of India on 1st January, 1932. This honour has been conferred, evidently in token of his services as Advocate-General of Madras and as a member of the Committee appointed by the Government for drafting the "Sale of Goods Bill" and "Partnership Bill." There has been widespread satisfaction among the general public and among the members of the legal profession throughout the presidency. The distinction has been unique in the sense that no previous incumbent of the high office of Advocate-General of Madras was honoured with this title during his period of office. The Bar has felt a special joy because *Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar* is its head not only by virtue of his office, but also by reason of the princely income, which he has been earning for more than ten years at the Bar, and his large and varied practice, his great powers of advocacy and his erudition in many branches of the Law, including international law and constitutional law. He enjoys a wide popularity by the simplicity of his nature, his affability and accessibility; and his hold on the affections of his countrymen and on the younger section of the Bar is, indeed, very great owing to his discriminating philanthropy, his generous appreciation of intelligence and merit and his encouragement of talent.

The Editorial Committee of the Journal of Oriental Research are specially grateful to him for the keen interest he has been taking in the work of the Journal ever since its inception, and for the generous donation which he has been giving every year towards the finances of the Journal.

THE PORTRAIT OF KĀLIDĀSA

BY

MR. L. KRISHNA DAS, B.A., B.L., ADVOCATE, MADRAS.

An Appreciation by Vivius.

Art is creative and the artist is also a creator. Of recreation in Art it may indeed be said that it is truer and finer than what is wrought by the creative processes of nature. In the latter, the spirit is often overwhelmed and masked by matter and material, at once gross and drossy. It is the supreme function of fine art to reveal the spirit appearing veiled in every object of creation.

The Art of Painting is not the Art of Photography. The painter is not he who merely reproduces in paint the figure, features and flesh of man. What he has to paint is the soul radiating through the flesh—the man that is the spirit, with all the characteristics and the whole history rewrit in language which one can read.

If, therefore, in the case of living human beings the Artist-Painter, under the guise of painting the human figure really paints the human soul, the process comes to be reversed in painting historic persons dead long ago, with regard to whose form, feature or lineaments there are no available records or data.

A poet is known by his personality as revealed in his poems. The spirit of the poet reconstructed by a synthesis imaged in imagination and realized in the vision of the artist, is, by him, appropriately embodied by providing the soul with the vesture of a body in harmony with its own true nature. The artistic process by which such embodiment is effected is a wondrous process of recreation rendering it at the same time truer and finer. All human memory is only a similar artist and what we remember is but what we can or care to put together in imagination.

Here in this picture painted by my friend, Mr. Krishna Das is seen Kālidāsa the great Indian Poet and Dramatist as he appeared in the divine vision of the artist. The poetic soul is

there seen with eyes as those of a child opened wide in wondrous appreciation. The eyes are lifted high, fixed on things high.

The eyes are the windows of the soul and the large beautiful eyes of the Poet are seen there pictured with the poetic soul glistening as it were at the corners. It almost seems that the soul of the great poet is seeking to go out of the frail and delicate body to get *en rapport* with the beauty of the external world. That world sublime and beautiful is in the picture depicted by the sublimity of the Himalayas with its foot in the dark recesses of the forest and with its snowclad peaks towering in skies radiant with the hues of the rising sun, and also by the beauty of the lake with its lotuses still in bud and reflecting in its still waters all the morning glory, almost at the feet of the lonely poet. The antelopes grazing and playing at some distance seem only to be part of the nature depicted in the picture, the sole living being evidently enjoying his loneliness in the solitude he seems to have specially chosen for himself. Such is the setting of the picture.

The refinement and nobility of the soul are sufficiently suggested by the refinement and delicacy of the figure, especially the face. The small mouth slightly opened, apparently unconsciously, shows the soul thirsting for beauty and drinking in all the beauty there is.

The poet seems lost not only in the contemplation of the sublime and the beautiful but also in thought, waiting for some sudden inspiration to give body and shape to a fleeting poetic idea. The palm leaves already written on, lie scattered by the side and the poet pausing in the midst ot a partly written leaf, sits in repose looking out as it were for the coming of the beautiful word or the beautiful thought, the inseparable unity of which represented to him the God of his worship even then imaged by him perhaps in those glorious heights he was gazing at. The stile held loosely between the fingers he is merely toying with, indicating forsooth that writing or even the style of writing is the least and last part of the poet. Whom else can this picture represent, the picture of the youthful Brahmin learned, *en rapport* with nature and beauty, following his dharma, refined and delicate in body and soul and writing on the inspiration of the sublime and the beautiful, but the great Kālidāsa of Sanskrit song?

The demands and worries of the professional life of a lawyer are scarcely propitious to the cultivation and development of Art.

Even more than Law, Art is a jealous mistress impatient of interruptions and impertinences. That in the intervals of such preoccupations Mr. Krishna Das should have been able not only to cultivate the art of painting, so little cultivated especially in this Presidency, and that what is more he should have found the necessary inspiration and time for doing such a creditable work is a matter indeed for sincere congratulation.

It is not for me to say whether his true vocation in life is Law or Art. But whatever that may be or prove to be, the work he has achieved is full of promise. May he and his devotion to art be spared long to produce still greater works of a similar kind ?

Art, like everything else, can grow and thrive only in a propitious soil and at mosphere. A barren soil will not let the young plant grow. The chill of apathy will nip it in the bud and the hot blast of envy will parch or burn it up. The genial warmth of generous appreciation is a necessary condition for all growth and luxuriance. It is also true that new shades of beauty are revealed only in the sunshine of sympathy. I hope and trust that it may be given to my friend Mr. Krishna Das to receive an adequate measure of appreciation and encouragement from the public of this Presidency. I am glad to think that he has already been the recipient of a small token of recognition from the blessing hands of the Sanskrit Academy of Madras.

In the Indian Renaissance which we of this generation are witnessing in progress under our own eyes, art is destined to take and occupy a high and important place. Will Mr. Krishna Das carve out a niche for himself there ?

SOME MORE NYĀYAS.

BY

K. A. SUBRAHMANYA IYER, M.A., (LOND.),

Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Lucknow University.

Students of Sanskrit Literature will always be very grateful to the late Colonel Jacob for the three collections of Nyāyas or 'Popular Maxims' which he published some years ago. They were the result of his wide reading, extending over many years and covering a wide field of Sanskrit Literature. Anybody who is engaged in studying the literature on any Śāstra will find these collections a useful guide. They are all the more useful as Colonel Jacob's explanations of the Nyāyas always include quotations from the passages in which they occur.

Wide as Colonel Jacob's reading was, he was, of course, not familiar with certain branches of Sanskrit Literature, published subsequent to the publication of his three collections. Rich additions are being made in many parts of India to the published literature on the Śāstras and it is only natural that these newly published works should contain Nyāyas not included in Colonel Jacob's collections. I propose to lay a few such before the public, with the explanations which have suggested themselves to me.

१. दर्पणनगरन्याय

The simile of the mirror and the city. This is frequently met with in the Kashmir Śaiva literature.[1] It is one of the tenets of this system that the whole Universe is an emanation from the Supreme Being. This emanation is not different from the Supreme Being, yet it appears to be so. The system, being thoroughly monistic, cannot accept the Universe as a reality separate from the Supreme Being, Paramaśiva. If the Universe were different from the Supreme Being, it would end in dualism. If it were one with the Supreme Being, what is the force of the

1. Here, as elsewhere, Kashmir Śaiva works referred to are those published by the Research Department, Jammu and Kashmir State.

saying: The Universe shines (emanates). जगत् प्रकाशते इति कथं वाचोयुक्तिः ? How does it appear different from the Supreme Being ? To remove this difficulty the दर्पणनगरन्याय is brought in. Abhinavagupta says in his परमार्थसार

दर्पणनगरे यद्वन्नगरग्रामादि चित्रविभागि ।
भाति विभागेनैव च परस्परं दर्पणादपि च ॥
विमलपरमभैरवबोधात् तद्वद्विभागशून्यमपि ।
अन्योन्यं च ततोऽपि च विभक्तमाभाति जगदेतत् ॥ (p. 35.)

On a clear mirror are reflected towns, villages, rivers, mountains, men, women, animals etc. These reflections appear different from one another, but they are all contained within the mirror. The mirror is, however, not swamped by these reflections. No reflection is beyond the mirror. In that sense, the reflections and the mirror are the same. Still, the mirror is perceived as transcending the reflections. Thus there is भेद as well as अभेद. In the same way, the Universe with all its variety appears in the Supreme Consciousness and yet the latter transcends the Universe. The Universe is not beyond the Supreme Consciousness, in which sense, there is identity between the two, while the latter transcends the former, in which sense they may be said to be different from one another. The analogy must, of course, not be pressed too far, because there is one essential point of difference between the mirror and the Supreme Consciousness. The latter creates the things which are reflected in it, whereas the mirror does not create the things which are reflected in it. While commenting on the verses quoted above Yogarāja quotes the following verse from the विवृतिविमर्शिनी of Abhinavagupta, referring to the difference pointed out above.

अन्तर्विभाति सकलं जगदात्मनीह
यद्वद्विचित्ररचना मुकुरान्तराले ।
बोधः पुनर्निजविमर्शनसारयुक्त्या
विश्वं परामृशति यो मुकुरस्तथा तु ॥

(परमार्थसार p. 39.)

The Nyāya is also referred to in other works belonging to the Kashmir Śaiva system. Thus Abhinavagupta says in his ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाविमर्शिनी—

तस्य च प्रमातुरन्तः सर्वार्थावभासः चिन्मात्रशरीरोऽपि तत्सामानाधिकरण्यवृत्तिरपि दर्पणनगरन्यायेनास्ति इत्यपि उक्तम् । (Vol. I, p.244.)

"It has also been said that within that Experiencer, the manifestation of all things, though essentially of the nature of Consciousness and co-existent with it, exists according to the analogy of the mirror and the city."

Again we read:—

दर्पणतलमिव विततप्रवहन्नदीप्रवाहक्रमसमाश्लिष्टम्, अत्र च केवलं दर्पणस्य तथा इच्छा नास्ति । परमेश्वरस्य तु सा अस्ति । (Vol. II, p. 23-24.)

Again we read of the प्रत्यभिज्ञाहृदय—

स्वभित्तौ न तु अन्यत्र क्वापि प्राङ्निर्णीतं विश्वं दर्पणनगरवदभिन्नमपि भिन्नमिव उन्मीलयति । उन्मीलनं चावस्थितस्यैव प्रकटीकरणम् ॥ (p. 6.)

Examples can be multiplied, but the above passages are sufficient for making the idea clear.

२. समधृततुलापुटन्याय

The simile of the two discs of a balance in equilibrium. In such a state, the two discs are of equal importance. Hence the Nyāya is used in the Kashmir Śaiva literature, to illustrate that stage in evolution which is called ईश्वरावस्था. Yogarāja says in his commentary on the परमार्थसार

तथा अत्रैव 'अहमिदम्' इति अभेदेन अहन्तेदन्तयोः **समधृततुलापुटन्यायेन** यः स्वात्मचमत्कारः सैषा तस्य ईश्वरावस्था । (p. 42.)

Abhinavagupta also uses this Nyāya in his ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाविमर्शिनी

प्रकाशस्य यदात्ममात्रविश्रमणमनन्योन्मुखस्वात्मप्रकाशताविश्रान्तिलक्षणो विमर्शः 'सोऽहम्' इति उच्यते ; यस्त्वन्योन्मुखः स 'इदम्' इति स च स्वप्रकाशमात्रे पुनरनन्योन्मुखरूपे विश्राम्यति परमार्थतः । तत्राद्ये विमर्शेऽपि शिवतत्त्वम्, द्वितीये विद्येशता, मध्यमे तु रूपे 'अहमिदम्' इति **समधृततुलापुटन्यायेन** यो विमर्शः स सदाशिवनाथ ईश्वरभट्टारके च........

(Vol. II, p. 196.)

३. अङ्गुलिद्वयन्याय

This simile, like the above, is used to illustrate two things in a state of equal importance. It occurs in the 'ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाविमर्शिनी of अभिनवगुप्त in a discussion on the nature of memory. While

expounding the views of the Pūrvapakṣin, Abhinavagupta says :—

इह स्मृतिकाले सुस्मूर्षितोऽर्थो भवतु ध्वंसतां वा इति किमनेन ? अनुभवस्तावत् ध्वस्त इत्यत्र सर्वस्य अविवादः । तमेव चानुरुन्धाना स्मृतिर्ज्ञायते । तथा हि—स्मृतौ नार्थस्य प्रकाशः नाध्यवसायः, नापि अनुभवस्यार्थस्य चाङ्गुलिद्वयवत् नापि अनुभवविशिष्टस्यार्थस्य दण्डिवत् । (Vol. I, p. 60.)

The occurrence of this Nyāya, together with the दाण्डिन्याय helps to make its meaning clear. The latter, like the चक्रन्याय, illustrates two things of which one appears as subordinate to the other. 'अङ्गुलिद्वयन्याय' as the very name shows, is used to illustrate two things having equal importance just as two fingers in a hand are equal to each other in importance.

४. सहभोजिनामेकपात्रन्याय

The simile of one plate serving in turn many people dining together. This serves to illustrate anything which fulfils many purposes *in succession.* Thus it is the opposite of the देहलीदीपन्याय, the simile of the lamp on the threshold illuminating two rooms at the same time. This Nyāya occurs in the note explaining on the word आवृत्ति of the ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाविमर्शिनी. Says the author of the note:—

देहलीदीपन्यायेन युगपदुपकारकत्वं तन्त्रत्वम् । सहभोजिनामेकपात्रन्यायेन क्रमेणोपकारत्वमावृत्तित्वम् । (p. 22. Vol. I.)

(To be continued)

A NOTE ON ŚRĪ VIRŪPĀKṢA.

BY

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M.A., PH. D.,

Reader in Indian History, University of Madras.

Śrī Virūpākṣa is the sign-manual of the emperors of Vijayanagara with which their inscriptions usually terminate. It is like the signature which every individual affixes to a letter he writes or a legal document which he executes. "The signature," says an ancient writer, "is the life of a letter."[1] The same thing may be said of a document also. The sign, Śrī Virūpākṣa, with which all the Vijayanagara grants, especially those engraved on the copper-plates, end, takes the place of the signature of the emperors.

Why did the emperors of Vijayanagara affix to their *dāna-śāsanas* and probably to other legal documents also, the name of the God Virūpākṣa and not their own? No particular attention has been paid to this question so far, and scholars have generally assumed that as God Virūpākṣa, the presiding deity of Hampe was also *kula-daiva* or the family deity of the Vijayanagara emperors, they adopted this method of signing their documents. The explanation, however, is hardly satisfactory. The family deity of the Saḷuvas, Tuḷuvas and the early Āravīḍu monarchs was Viṣṇu. Nevertheless, they did not change the sign-manual. Moreover, it was not usually the practice even of pious kings to substitute for their names, the name of the god whom they adored in their legal documents. The Emperor Harṣa, for instance, was a Buddhist, and yet he used to affix his own signature to his *dāna-śāsanas* and other documents, and not that of the Buddha. स्वहस्तो मम महाराजाधिराजस्य श्रीहर्षस्य is familiar to all students of Indian History. The Naiks of Ikkēri were very staunch Liṅgāyats; nevertheless they signed their documents with their own names, *e.g.*, Śrī-Sadāśiva and Śrī Veṅkaṭādri. Nowhere do we come across a king or a line of kings signing the state document with the name of a god, although this god was not, as it

1. Sumati.

happened in the case of the Saḷuvas, Tuḷuvas etc., the family deity.

Mr. C. R. Kṛṣṇamācārlu, the present Superintendent of Epigraphy, is the only scholar who bestowed some attention to this problem. In a very interesting paper which he contributed to the Indian Antiquary[1] some years ago, he discusses the sign manual of Vijayanagara rulers; but he does not make any attempt to explain its significance. However, he draws a very useful dinstinction between the gods of the king and the god of the state. Rāmacandra, Nṛsiṁha, Veṅkaṭēśa, Viṭṭhala etc. might become the favourite deities of the monarchs for the time being, but Śrī Virūpākṣa remained "the guardian God of the empire". "The Vijayanagara throne was still believed to be under the blessed guardianship of the wings of Virūpākṣa. The king on the throne neither could nor would dismiss Virūpākṣa from the place of veneration in his heart".[2] Therefore, "Virūpākṣa continued to be the city-god and the empire-god".[3]

The capital of every kingdom or empire should have had its own guardian deity. None but the emperors of Vijayanagara allowed the name of the guardian deity of their capital to take the place of their own names in signing their state papers and documents. Even at present, there are several minors with guardians; but no minor is ever permitted to affix the signature of his guardian to a letter or a document which he has to sign. The legal sense of the emperors of Vijayanagara cannot be said to have been inferior to our own. How then did they tolerate the continued existence of this absurdity? We do not believe that Virūpākṣa's guardianship of the city or the empire had anything to do with the sign-manual. The Śrī Virūpākṣa of the Vijayanagara documents should be regarded as a person belonging to the world of legal fictions whose signature was considered indispensable for legalising the state documents. The emperors of Vijayanagara were his agents holding a hereditary power of attorney, managing his affairs. It is only by an assumption of this kind that we can explain continuous use of the sign-manual by the emperors, although their personal faith had drawn some of them to the feet of gods other than Virūpākṣa.

1. I. A. XLIV. p. 219.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*

The assumption is not unjustifiable. The temple of Virūpākṣa had been in existence from very early times. The place became famous owing to the shrine of the god. And, according to an early tradition, Virūpākṣa wedded Pampā or Hampādevī.[1] Owing to the importance of the divine pair, the shrine became a coveted place of pilgrimage. Around the shrine sprang up a small hamlet which in course of time grew up into a township. It was appropriately named Hampe or Hampe-Virūpākṣam. The township belonged to Virūpākṣa and his wife. The sage Vidyāraṇya who was a staunch devotee of Virūpākṣa, was discovered by Harihara, according to tradition, in his temple.[2] Moreover, it is said that upon Vidyāraṇya's advice, Harihara made Hampe, which he transformed into Vidyānagara or Vijayanagara, his capital. But, as the township belonged to Virūpākṣa, Harihara could not hold it as his own. Therefore, he obtained, of course, through the agency of Vidyāraṇya, the hereditary right of managing the township, and the properties belonging to the god, on his behalf. He was managing the township not in his own right but a servant or steward of the god.

At the time when Harihara made Hampe his capital, his power and resources were not very great. He had to contend against many powerful enemies. On the north there were the Mussalmans, the enemies of his race and religion. On the west and the south, there was Ballāḷa III who had broken his lance on maṇy a battlefield. And on the east there were several petty warlike chiefs who were busy carving out independent principalities for themselves, out of the dismembered empire of the Kākatīyas. Harihara and his brothers who were anxious to save South India from falling into the hands of the Muhammadans wanted men, and above all money. They could easily command the services of men provided they had money; but where could they get money from? It was the most important problem which they had to solve; and it was the sage Vidyāraṇya that solved the problem for the five brothers. Tradition has preserved this solution under a miraculous garb. At his request the goddess Durgā "for seven *ghaṭikās* showered gold on the land that was to become the site of the later Vijayanagara or Vidyānagara".[3]

1. Nellore Inscriptions; Butterworth and Vēṇugōpāla Chetty. C. P. 15.
2. *Ibid.*
3. I. A. XLIV. p. 219.

Shorn of its miraculous setting this statement reveals to us for the first time the source from which Harihara and Bukka derived the power not only to defeat their enemies but to conquer an extensive empire. It also explains the real cause for the extraordinary influence which Vidyāraṇya wielded over the first three emperors of Vijayanagar. What then was the solution which Vidyāraṇya offered? He placed the contents of the Śrībhaṇḍāra of Pampādevī and Virūpākṣa at the disposal of Harihara and Bukka, and commanded them to go and conquer the enemies of the Hindus, and to conquer everyone that might hamper them in their task. The gold which the goddess showered for seven ghaṭikās is no myth. She did shower it from her own treasury. Over the land which 'was to become the site of the later Vijayanagara or Vidyānagara'? Yes; a good part of the gold was invested in building the new city, and making it impregnable to the enemy. What was the object of Vidyāraṇya in thus placing the temple treasury at the disposal of Harihara and his brothers. It was with the noblest object that he took this step. He wanted to save from destruction the Hindu religion and culture as well as the temple of Pampā-Virūpākṣa, and several others of its kind.

The brothers went forth to conquer, and they prospered. They defeated the Mussalmans and drove them across the Kṛṣṇā. They subdued the petty chiefs in the east and extended their dominion until it reached the Bay of Bengal. And they destroyed the power of the Hoysalas and extended their territory to the west until it touched the Arabian sea. They could say with pardonable pride ten years after the foundation of the city of Vijayanagara that they conquered the whole earth from the eastern to the western ocean.

Who was the real owner of the vast empire which the five brothers had conquered within so short a time? Since they went forth to conquer with the money which belonged to the god Virūpākṣa and his spouse, they might be said in a very real sense to be the owners of the empire. This fact was recognized by all the emperors of Vijayanagara, and they did not dispute the right of the god. Therefore, whatever might be their personal faith, they dared not change the sign-manual; for they knew that they had no right to rule the kingdom except as the agents of the god. Whatever view they held about religion, they always signed the state documents with the name of Virūpākṣa, the real owner of the empire.

Moreover, the Pardao, the standard coin of the country bore the images of a god and a goddess. "The gold coin which they call pardas", says Barbosa, "is worth three hundred maravedis... Some of them have on one side Indian letters and on the other two figures of a man and a woman."[1] According to Nuniz the pardao "bears impressed on one side two images."[2] Sir Walter Elliot informs us that "the figures represent Śiva and his consort Pārvatī."[3] We should like to add that they represent Virūpākṣa and his consort, Pampādevī.

The emperors of Vijayanagara not only signed their documents with the signature Śri Virūpākṣa, but they had the images of this god and his spouse Pampā engraved on the standard coin of the empire. They also made their gifts usually in the presence of the god himself. All these show that theoretically the empire belonged to the god, and they governed it only as his representatives.

Veṅkaṭa II deliberately changed the sign-manual. He substituted the name of Veṅkaṭēśa for that of Virūpākṣa. "Superstitions tradition", has it, "that the dynasty of Vijayanagara came to an end,",[4] as a consequence of this act. When Veṅkaṭa II deprived Virūpākṣa of his rights, the god is believed to have struck him and his successors down, and they rapidly fell from power.

What has been suggested in the foregoing paragraphs is not without a parallel. Take, for instance, the modern state of Travancore. The state in theory does not belong to the Rājā. It belongs to the god Śrī-Padmanābha of Anantaśayanam. The Rājā governs the state as an agent of the god. He calls himself Padmanābhadāsa, and conducts the administration of the estate as the god's agent.[5] The position of the emperor of Vijayanagara in relation to the temple of Virūpākṣa should have been similar to that of the Rājā of Travancore in relation to the temple of Padmanābha. Otherwise, it is extremely difficult to explain in a satisfactory manner, the sign-manual of the Vijaynagara emperors.

1. Duarte Barbosa, I. p. 204.
2. Forgotten Empire. (p. 283.)
3. Sir W. Elliot: Coins of South India.
4. I. A. XLIV. p. 204.
5. Travancore Arch. series Vols. IV and V. p. 26.

BHAVASAMKRĀNTI SŪTRA.

RESTORED FROM THE TIBETAN VERSION WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

BY

N. AYYASWAMI SASTRI, MYLAPORE.

Going through the chapter VI of Candrakīrti's Madhyamakāvatāra, I came across a long quotation from Bhavasamkrānti Sūtra. For a time, I was not able to get at further particulars regarding this Bhavasamkrānti Sūtra. On further investigation I came to understand that this Sūtra was among the Kandjour collection of Tibetan translations (Vol. XVII). The actual title of this book, as transliterated in the sūtra, is *āryabhavasamkrānita sūtra.* The word *samkrānita* being an ungrammatical form in Sanskrit language, I think it is an incorrect transliteration for *samkrānti.* This fact is also corroborated by further external evidence. In the Tandjour collection we come across another Bhavasamkrānti by one Nāgārjuna the title of which is correctly transliterated as we expected. The word *samkrānita* in the Bhavasamkrānti Sūtra referred to above is thus evidently a wrong transliteration of the word Samkrānti. A closer examination of the contents of Nāgārjuna's Bhavasamkrānti and its Ṭīkā thereon by Maitreyanātha reveals that this book is so named for the reasons that it contains the salient features of the former Bhavasamkrānti. The addition of the word *madhyama* to the title of Nāgārjuna's work seems to have been made by Tibetan translators of later date apparently with a view to differentiate between these two works[1]. How the two Bhavasamkrāntis agree with each other will form the subject matter of a separate paper.

The authenticity of the Bhavasamkrānti Sūtra can be recognised from the evidence available in Candrakīrti's Madhyama-

1. The restoration of the Sanskrit text of Nāgārjuna's Bhavasamkrānti with Maitreyanātha's commentory thereon from Tibetan versions is being prepared by me and will be published with Tibetan versions in due course of time.

kāvatāra itself. An extensive prose section in the Madhyamakāvatāra has been freely quoted from the present sūtra and this again agrees verbatim with a portion of Pitāputrasamāgama sūtra quoted in Śikṣāsamuccaya, as Prof. Poussin has pointed out. Moreover, two of the verses from the Bhava. sūtra are cited by Candrakīrti in his Prasannapadā without mentioning the source from which he has drawn them, but as the words of Lord Buddha (उक्तं हि भगवता). They are :—

न चक्षुः प्रेक्षते रूपं मनोधर्मान्न वेत्ति च ।
एतत्तु परमं सत्यं यत्र लोको न गाहते ॥
सामग्रया दर्शनं यत्र प्रकाशयति नायकः ।
प्राहोपचारभूमिं तां परमार्थस्य बुद्धिमान् ॥

(M. V. p. 120.)

The variation is, however, noticeable. The order of the verses in the present sūtra has been changed; the first coming after the second and the second being the first. According to Candrakīrti, therefore, the sūtra belongs to a class of sūtras which advocate the theory of Śūnyatā.

Going through the text of Bhavasamkrānti sūtra, we find two topics mainly dealt with:—the transitoriness of *karman* and its relation to rebirth. During the Lord Buddha's stay at Rājagṛha, Bimbisāra interviews him and puts the following question:—How is it that *karmas* which are momentary in their nature and cease to exist afterwards, present themselves before individual minds causing rebirth? If it is, that these *karmas* produce the desired effect through a mediatory *dharma* called *avipraṇāśa*, how can such a thing *avipraṇāśa* exist when everything in the world is one utter *Śūnya*.

Regarding the first question, Lord Buddha gives the following answer in his usual way, citing an illustration. In such a case, past actions appear before the mind's eye in the same way as we are able to remember dreams while we are conscious. We see a woman in our dreams. Do we not recall to our minds this and similar dreams in our waking state? Exactly the same things happen. Our past *karmas* appear before our minds in our last moment and we have rebirth. This rebirth is nothing more than a new sphere of conscious mood in one of

the six realms of rebirth wherein we enjoy the fruits of the past *karmas*.

As for the second question the Lord says: Everything in this world is void. *Karmas* in their turn are of the same nature. There is, therefore, no such thing as disappearance of actions. This non-disappearance we call *avipraṇāśa*[1]. Then the Buddha, in the next following seven verses, dwells upon the nature of the existing world and explains the nature of the Relative Truth and the Absolute Truth. Here ends the discourse.

The Tibetan transcription of this sūtra has been done by me from the Narthang Edition of the Kandjour collection preserved in the Adyar Library. Dr. Von Monen, the general Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, kindly compared my transcript with the manuscript of the same book belonging to the Library of the Society.

The original Sanskrit text of the sūtra, which is lost, has been restored from the Tibetan version and published 'in the following pages with an English translation. In doing so, the major portion of the prose and verse sections of the sūtra has been identified, either directly or indirectly, with the originals. We may thus, say, with some degree of certainty, that the original sūtra has been, in the main, recovered from oblivion.

1. This interpretation is given by Ārya Nāgārjuna. *See* his Madhyamakakārikas XVII. 21, and Candrakīrti's vṛtti thereon.

I

RESTORED SANSKRIT TEXT.

॥ भवसङ्क्रान्ति नाम महायानसूत्रम् ॥

नमस्सर्वबुद्धबोधिसत्त्वेभ्यः ।

1. एवं मया श्रुतम् । एकस्मिन् समये भगवान् राजगृहे विहरति स्म कलन्तकनिवासे[1] वेणुवने महता भिक्षुसङ्घेन सार्धं द्विशतपञ्चाशद्भिर्भिक्षुभिः संबहुलैश्च बोधिसत्त्वमहासत्त्वैः । अथ भगवाननेकशतसहस्रपरिवारपरिवृतः पुरतोऽवलोक्य धर्मं दशयति स्म । [2]आदौ कल्याणं मध्ये कल्याणमवसाने कल्याणं स्वर्थं सुव्यञ्जनं केवलं परिपूर्णं परिशुद्धं पर्यवदातं ब्रह्मचर्यं प्रकाशयति स्म ॥

2. तदा मगधराजः श्रेण्यो[3] बिम्बिसारः महता राजविभवेन महता च राजबलेन राजगृहान्महानगरान्निष्क्रम्य येन वेणुवनं येन च भगवान् तेनोपसङ्क्रामीत् । उपसङ्क्रम्य भगवतः पादौ शिरसा अभिवन्द्य त्रिः प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य एकान्तेऽतिष्ठत् । एकान्ते स्थित्वा मगधराजः श्रेण्यो बिम्बिसारो भगवन्तमेतदवोचत् । कथं भगवन् कृतं कर्म सञ्चयं प्रतिरुध्य चिरनिरुद्धं मरणकाल उपस्थितं मनसोऽभिमुखीभवति । शून्येषु सर्वसंस्कारेषु कथं कर्मणामविप्रणाशो[4]ऽस्ति ॥

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1. . For the origin of the name "Kalantakanivāsaveṇuvana" *See* Rochill : The life of the Buddha, p. 43. (1892).

2. Here compare राष्ट्रपालपरिपृच्छा (B. B. II.) ed. by Finot, p. 2, LL. 13—14 and also मञ्जुश्रीमूलकल्प (T. S. S. LXX. part I) p. 5, where there is a wrong reading of सर्वं जन for सुव्यञ्जन. This formula is commented upon by Bodhisattva Asanga in his महायानसूत्रालङ्कार (ed. Levi) p. 82, thus :—

आदिमध्यपर्यवसानकल्याणो (धर्मः) यथाक्रमं श्रुतचिन्ताभावनाभिर्भक्तितुष्टिबुद्धिहेतुत्वात् । ....स्वर्थः संवृतिपरमार्थसत्ययोगात् । .... सुव्यञ्जनः प्रतीतपदव्यञ्जनत्वात् । चतुर्गुणं ब्रह्मचर्यम् । केवलं परैरसाधारणत्वात् । परिपूर्णं त्रिधातुक्लेशप्रहाणपरिपूरणात् । परिशुद्धं स्वभावविशुद्धितोऽनास्रवत्वात् । पर्यवदातं मलविशुद्धितः सन्तानविशुद्ध्या क्षीणास्रवाणाम् ।

3. =Tib. bzo-sbyans. *See* Tib. version of the Buddhacarita, X. 10 and 16 (Leipzig, 1928).

4. Read for chab-mi-ḥtshal, chud-mi-ḥdsah.

3. एवमुक्ते भगवान् मगधराजं श्रेण्यं बिम्बिसारमेतदवोचत् । तद्य[1]था महाराज पुरुषः सुप्तः [2]स्वप्ने जनपदकल्याण्या स्त्रिया सार्धं परिचरेत् । स शयितविबुद्धो जनपदकल्याणीं तां स्त्रियमनुस्मरेत् । तत्किं मन्यसे महाराज संविद्यते [2]स्वप्ने सा जनपदकल्याणी स्त्री ॥

4. आह । नो हीदं भगवन् ॥

5. भगवानाह । तत्किं मन्यसे महाराज अपि नु स पुरुषः पण्डितजातीयो भवेत् । यः [2]स्वप्ने जनपदकल्याणीं [3]स्त्रियमभिनिविशेत् ॥

6. आह । नो हीदं भगवन् । तत्कस्य हेतोः । अत्यन्ततया तु भगवन् स्वप्ने[2] जनपदकल्याणी स्त्री न संविद्यते । नोपलभ्यते । कुतः पुनरनया [सार्धं] परिचरणा । [4]एवं विघातस्य क्लमथस्य भागी स्यात्[5] ॥

7. [6]भगवानाह । एवमेव महाराज बालोऽश्रुतवान् पृथग्जनश्चक्षुषा रूपाणि दृष्ट्वा सौमनस्यस्थानीयानि रूपाण्यभिनिविशेत्[7] ॥ [8]अभिनिविष्ट अनुरज्यते[9] । अनुरक्तः संरज्यते । संरक्तो [10]रागजं द्वेषजं मोहजं कर्म कायवाङ्मनोभि-

1. From this nearly up to the end of the prose section of our Sūtra almost agrees with a part of the large extract cited from पितापुत्रसमागम in Śikṣāsamuccaya, pp. 252, LL. 3—653, 13. Variants will be noted below. Candrakīrti also quotes these passages in his मध्यमकावतार = म० अ० (B. B. IX.) p. 127, L. 17.

2. शि०स० : स्वप्नान्तरे. म०अ० omit. संविद्यते स्वप्ने सा...महाराज.

3. शि०स० : ०स्त्रियमनुस्मरेत् । तया सार्धं क्रीडितमभिनिवेशेत् । म०अ० : जनपदकल्याण्या स्त्रिया सार्धं परिचरेत् । तच्छयितविबुद्धस्तां जनपदकल्याणीं स्त्रियमनुस्मरेत्.

4. शि०स० : अन्यत्र यावदेव स पुरुषः for एवम् । म०अ० add स पुरुषः.

5. शि०स० add यस्तामभिनिवेशेत् ।

6. The following is in agreement with passages cited from पितापुत्रसमागम in बोधिचर्यावतारपञ्जिका, pp. 477, LL. 3—479, 1.

7. बो० प० : अभिनिविशते ।

8. शि० स० et बो० प० : सोऽभि०

9. शि० स० : सन्ननुनीयते । अनुनीतः, बो० प० : समनुनीयते. म०अ० omit. अनुरज्यते । अनुरक्तः.

10. शि० स० et बो० प० : रागजं कर्माभिसंस्करोति । त्रिविधं कायेन चतुर्विधं वाचा त्रिविधं मनसा.

रभिसंस्करोति । तच्च कर्माभिसंस्कृतं[1] निरुध्यते । निरुद्धं न पूर्वां दिशं निश्रित्य तिष्ठति । न दक्षिणाम् । न पश्चिमाम् । नोत्तराम् । नोर्ध्वम् । नाधः । न[2] विदिशं निश्रित्य तिष्ठति । [3]तत्कर्म कदाचिन्मरणकालसमय[4] उपस्थिते[5] तत्सभागस्य कर्मणः क्षयात् चरमविज्ञाने[6] निरुद्धे मनसोऽभिमुखीभवति । तद्यथापि नाम [7]सुप्तशयितविबुद्धस्य जनपदकल्याणी स्त्री । एवं हि महाराज चरमविज्ञानं[8] निरुध्यते । औपपत्त्यंशिकं प्रथमविज्ञानमुत्पद्यते यदि [9]वा देवे । यदि वा मनुष्ये । यदि वासुरे । यदि वा नरकेषु । यदि वा तिर्यग्योनिषु । यदि वा प्रेतेषु । तस्य च महाराज प्रथमविज्ञानस्य[10]समनन्तरनिरुद्धस्य [11]तत्सभगा चित्तसन्ततिः प्रवर्तते । यत्र विपाकस्य प्रतिसंवेदना प्रज्ञायते । तत्र[12] महाराज न कश्चिद्धर्मोऽस्माल्लोकात्परलोकं सङ्क्रामति । च्युत्युपपत्ती च प्रज्ञायेते । तत्र महाराज यश्चरमविज्ञानस्य निरोधः । सा च्युतिरिति संज्ञा । यः प्रथमविज्ञानस्य प्रादुर्भावः । सोपपत्तिरिति । [13]चरमविज्ञानं महाराज निरोधेऽपि न क्वचिद्गच्छति ।

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1. *Ibid.* add ०स्कृतमादित एव क्षीणं निरुद्धं विगतं विपरिणतं न पू०

2. *Ibid.* add नानुविदिशम् । नेह । न तिर्यक् । नोभयमन्तरा ।

3. *Ibid.* : तत्पुनः कालान्तरेण मरणकालसमये प्रत्युप०. म०अ० : कदाचित्कालान्तरेण मरणकाल उपस्थिते.......निरुद्धे तस्यैव कर्मणो मनोऽभि०.

4. Tib. tshod=समय ?

5. शि०स० et बो०प० add. जीवितेन्द्रियनिरोधे आयुषः परिक्षयात् ।

6.. *Ibid.* ०ज्ञानस्य निरुध्यमानस्य मनस आरम्भणीभवति ।

7. Tib. ñal-ñal-ba-las-sad-pa. शि०स० शयितविबुद्ध ।

8. शि० स० : ०ज्ञानेनाधिपतिना तेन च कर्मणा आरम्बणेनौपपत्त्यंशिकद्वय-प्रत्ययं प्रथमविज्ञानम् । बो० प० : ०ज्ञानेनाधिपतिना तेन च कर्मारम्बणेन औपपत्त्यंशिकं प्रथमम् ।

9. शि० स० et बो० प० : यदि वा नरकेषु । यादि वा तिर्यग्योनिषु । ...यमलोके । ... आसुरे काये । ... मनुष्येषु । ... देवेषु ।

10. *Ibid.* add. औपपत्त्यंशिकस्य ।

11. शि० स० : अनन्तरसभागा. बो० प० : अनन्तरं स०.

12. This and the following sentence come after उपपत्तिरिति in शि० स० et बो० प०.

13. *Ibid.* : चरमविज्ञानमुत्पद्यमानं न कुतश्चिदागच्छति । निरुध्यमानं न क्वचिद्गच्छति । कर्माप्युत्पद्यमानं न कुतश्चिदागच्छति । निरुध्यमानं न क्वचिद्गच्छति । प्रथमविज्ञानमुत्पद्यमानं न कुतश्चिदागच्छति । निरुध्यमानं न क्वचिद्गच्छति ।

औपपत्त्यंशिकं प्रथमविज्ञानमुत्पादेऽपि न कुतश्चिदागच्छति । तत्कस्य हेतोः । स्वभावराहितत्वात् । तत्र महाराज [1]चरमविज्ञानं चरमविज्ञानेन शून्यम् । च्युतिश्च्युत्या शून्या । कर्म कर्मणा शून्यम् । प्रथमविज्ञानं प्रथमविज्ञानेन शून्यम् । उपपत्तिरुपपत्त्या शून्या । कर्मणामवि प्रणाश[2]श्च प्रज्ञायते । प्रथमविज्ञानस्य महाराज औपपत्त्यंशिकस्य समनन्तरनिरुद्धस्य निरन्तरा चित्तसन्ततिः प्रवर्तते । यत्र विपाकस्य प्रतिसंवेदना प्रज्ञायते । एवं भगवानाह । सुगत एवमुक्त्वा अन्यच्च शास्ता एवमवोचत् ॥

8. सर्वमेतन्नाममात्रं संज्ञामात्रं व्यवस्थितम् ।
वचनादन्यभूतं हि वक्तव्यं न च विद्यते ॥

9. येन[3] येन हि नाम्ना वै यो यो धर्मोऽभिलप्यते ।
नासौ संविद्यते तत्र धर्माणां सा हि धर्मता ॥

10. नाम्ना[4] हि नामता शून्या नाम्ना नाम न विद्यते ।
अनामकाः सर्वधर्मा नाम्ना तु परिदीपिताः ॥

11. इमे[5] धर्मा न विद्यन्ते कल्पनायाः समुत्थिताः ।
साप्यत्र कल्पना शून्या यया शून्या विकल्पिताः ॥

12. चक्षूरूपं पश्यतीति [6]सम्यग्दृष्ट्या यदुच्यते ।
मिथ्याश्रद्धस्य लोकस्य तत्सत्यं संवृतीरितम् ॥

1. *Ibid.* These sentences are in a different order : चरमविज्ञानं ... । कर्म ... । प्रथमविज्ञानं ... । च्युतिः ... । उपपत्तिः ... ।

2. *Ibid.* अवन्ध्यता. Here ends the agreement between the भवसङ्क्रान्तिसूत्र and the पितापुत्रसमागमसूत्र. The quotation of our Sūtra in the Madhyamakāvatāra also ends here.

3. Cited in the Tattvasamgrahapanjikā (G. O. S.) p. 12, (उक्तं तायिना) and again it is cited on the page 275, where we have न स संविद्यते in the third pāda.

4. This verse is in quite agreement with one of the verses cited from the Lokanāthavyākaraṇa in the Śikṣāsamuccaya, p. 241, LL. 13—14, where in the second pāda of the first line it reads नाम्नि for नाम्ना of our text.

5. Compare the Lankāvatāra Sūtra (kyoto, 1923), p. 265, verse 10. असारका इमे धर्मा मन्यनायाः समुत्थिताः ।
साप्यत्र मन्यना शून्या यया शून्येति मन्यते ॥

6. अतैमिरिकेणेत्यर्थः ।

13. [1]सामग्र्या दर्शनं यत्र प्रकाशयति नायकः ।
प्राहोपचार[2] भूमिं तां परमार्थस्य बुद्धिमान् ॥

14. न चक्षुः प्रेक्षते रूपं मनोधर्मान्न वेत्ति च ।
एतत्तु परमं सत्यं यत्र[3] लोको न गाहते[4] ॥

15. एवमवोचद्भगवान् । मगधदेशराजःश्रेण्यो बिम्बिसारःते बोधिसत्त्वास्ते च भिक्षवः सदेवमानुषासुरगन्धर्वश्च लोको मुदित्वा भगवतो भाषितमभ्यनन्दन् ॥

॥ आर्यभवसङ्क्रान्ति नाम महायानसूत्रं संपूर्णम् ॥

II

TRANSLATION.

Adoration to all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

1. Thus have I heard. The Blessed One (*i. e.* Lord Buddha) was once staying at the Bamboo-grove, called Kalantaka-nivāsa, which is situated in Rājagṛha, with a large assembly composed of Bhikṣus numbering two hundred and fifty and innumerable Bodhisattva Mahāsattvas. Thereupon, the Blessed One who was surrounded by many hundreds of thousands of followers, beholding ahead, preached Dharma and explained the Brahmacarya (celibacy) which is blessing in the beginning, blessing in the middle, blessing in the end, full of good significance, full of good letters and syllables, unmixed, quite perfect, quite pure and quite clean.

2. Then, Bimbisāra the king of Magadha an expert in arts, with all his royal pomp and grandeur and with all his royal forces, came out of Rājagṛha the great city and arrived at the Bamboo-grove where the Blessed One was staying. On arriving, he bowed at the feet of the Blessed One and walking around Him three times from left to right, stood in a corner. While standing there, Bimbisāra the king of Magadha, the expert in arts, asked the Blessed One thus: How, O Blessed One! does an action that has been done, long after its accumulation is checked and it has disappeared, present itself at the time of death

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1. The following two verses are cited in the Madhyamakavṛtti p. 120 (उक्तं हि भगवता).
2. Tib. reads gdags-pahi-sa=प्रज्ञप्तिभूमि
3. Tib. reads. तत्र
4. =Tib. dpogs-so.

and appear before the mind *(manas)*; and how is there no annihilation (*avipraṇāśa*) of actions when everything is empty?

3. The Blessed One replied to Bimbisāra the king of Magadha the expert in arts, as follows:—Take for example, O king! a man, who, while asleep, dreams that he was roving about with some beautiful young woman of a city. When he wakes up from sleep he may remember that young woman. What do you think, O king? Does that woman exist in the dream?

4. He said: No, Blessed One.

5. The Blessed One said: What do you think, O king? Would that man be considered wise who would cling to that woman [who appeared] in his dream?

6. He said: No, Blessed One. And why so? Because the young woman in the dream does not exist at all; nor could she be got at; then how could there be any roving about with her? And thus he becomes an object of failure and fatigue.

7. The Blessed One said: Even so, O king! a foolish, untaught, worldling, when he sees beautiful forms, becomes attached to them; being attached to them, he begins to like them and after liking, he feels a passion for them; and feeling a passion, he performs the action that springs from the passion, indignation and ignorance, by means of body, speech and mind; and that action which is performed disappears. Disappearing, it does not go towards the east, nor south, nor west, nor north, nor up, nor down, nor to the intermediate points. But at a period later on, when the time of death comes in, and when the last consciousness disappears by the exhaustion of one's action of similar kind,[1] that action appears before the mind, as the young woman to a man who was asleep and was awakened from sleep. So, O king! the last consciousness disappears and the first consciousness associated with rebirth is born either amongst gods or men, or demons, or in the hells or in the womb of beasts or amongst *pretas*. And immediately after this first consciousness disappears, O king! a new series of thought belonging to that [first consciousness] arises where the experience of ripening of the act is to

1. तत्सभागस्य कर्मणः क्षयात्. सभाग = सदृश. *See* मध्य० वृत्ति p. 321, l. 6. But तत्सभागं कर्मन् is translated by C. Bendall and W. H. D. Rouse thus: "the action that is his share." *See* Śikṣāsamuccaya, English translation, p. 234.

be felt. There is, O king! nothing that goes from this world to another; but death[1] (*cyuti*) and rebirth[1] (*upapatti*) take place. What is, O king! the disappearance of the last consciousness that is known as "death". What is the manifesting of the first consciousness that is known as "rebirth". The last consciousness, O king, when it ceases, does not go anywhere. The first consciousness, wnen it arises, does not come from anywhere. And why so? Because they have no reality. So, O king! the last consciousness is of itself empty, death of itself empty, action of itself empty, the first consciousness of itself empty, rebirth of itself empty. And the inexhaustibility of actions comes into play. Immediately after the disappearance of the first consciousness associated with rebirth, O king! an uninterrupted new series of thought arises, where the experience of the ripening of the act is to be felt. So spoke the Blessed One. The Buddha (Sugata) the commander (Śāstā) having spoken in this way, also said as follows:—

8. All this is only a name and the name alone stands. There is nothing capable of speech apart from words.

9. By whatever particular names, particular things may be called, they [the things] do not exist in them [those names] indeed; this is what is known as thinghood (dharmatā) of all things (dharma).

10. Namehood is void of name, by name there is no name. Nameless are all things; but they are illuminated by names.

11. These things do not exist, but are born of imagination. That imagination is itself empty by which the empty things are discriminated.

12. That which is uttered by a man of correct perception that "the eye sees the form (*rūpa*) is called Relative Truth (*saṁvṛtisatya*) in the view of the world of false faith.

13. Where the Leader (Nāyaka = Buddha) teaches that the perception (*darśana*) arises by the aid of a concatenation of cause and conditions, the wise declare that it is the *upacārabhūmi* of the Absolute Truth.

14. The eye sees not the form and the mind knows not the things; this is the Absolute Truth unto which the world reaches not. Thus spoke the Blessed One.

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1. च्युति and उपपत्ति in corresponding passages in Śikṣāsamuccaya are translated "rebirth" and "arising" respectively. But this is evidently an error.

15. Bimbisāra the king of Magadha, the expert in arts, those Bodhisattvas and Bhikṣus and the world comprising gods, men, demons and angels, being pleased, greatly praised the teaching of the Blessed One.

Here ends the Noble Bhavasaṁkrānti,
a Mahāyāna Sūtra.

III.
TIBETAN VERSION.

RGYA-GAR. SKAD. DU| ĀRYA. BHA. BA. SAM. KRĀ. NI. TA. NĀ. MA. HĀ. YĀ. NA. SŪ. TRA| BOD. SKAD. DU| ḤPHAGS. SRID. PA. ḤPHO. BA. SHES. BYA. BA. THEG. PA. CEN. POHI. MDO||

saṅs. rgyas. daṅ| byaṅ. chub. sems. dpah.
thams. cad. la. phyag. ḥtshal. lo||

1. hdi. skad. bdags. gis. [f. 280a] thos. pa. dus. gcig. na| bcom. ldan. hdas. rgyal. pohi. khab. na. hod. mahi. tshal. bya. ka. la. nta. ka. gnas. pa. na. dge. sloṅ. ñis. brgya. lṅa. bcuhi. dge. sloṅ. gi. dge. hdun. chen. po. daṅ| byaṅ. chub. sems. dpah. sems. dpah. chen. po. rab. tu. maṅ. po. daṅ. thabs. gcig. tu. bshugs. te| de. nas. bcom. ldan. ḥdas. ḥkhor. brgya. stoṅ. du. mas. yoṅs. su. bskor. ciṅ. mdun. gyis. bltas. nas. chos. ston. to| tshaṅs. par. spyod. pa| thog. mar. dge. ba| bar. du. dge. ba| tha. mar. dge. ba| don. bzaṅ. po| tshig. ḥbru. bzaṅ. po| ma. ḥdres. pa| yoṅs. su. rdsogs. pa| yoṅs. su. dag. pa| yoṅs. su. byaṅ. ba. yaṅ dag. par. ston. to|

2. deḥi. tshe. yul. ma. ga. dheḥi. rgyal. po. bzo. sbyaṅs. gzugs. can. sñiṅ. po. rgyal. pohi. khab. kyi. groṅ. khyer. chen. po. nas. byuṅ. ste| rgyal. pohi. ḥbyor. pa. chen. po. daṅ.| rgyal. poḥi. mthu. chen. pos. phyir. hod. maḥi. tshal. ga. la. ba. daṅ| bcom. ldan. ḥdas. ga. la. ba. der. soṅ. ste. phyin. nas| bcom. ldan. ḥdas. kyi. shabs. la. mgo. bos. phyag. ḥtshal. te| lan. gsum. bskor. ba. byas. nas. phyogs. gcig. tu. ḥdug. go|| phyogs. gcig. tu. ḥdug. nas. yul. ma. ga. dhaḥi. rgyal. po. bzo. sbyaṅs. gzugs. can. sñiṅ. pos bcom. ldan. ḥdas. la. ḥdi. skad. ces. gsol. te|| bcom. ldan. ḥdas. ji. ltar. na. las. bgyis śiṅ. bsags. pa. ḥgags. nas. yul. riṅ. du. ḥgags. pa. ḥgum. paḥi. dus. kyi. tshe. [f. 280b] ñe. bar.

gnas. śiṅ. yid. la. mṅon. du. ḥgyur. lags| ḥdu. byed. thams. cad. stoṅ. pa. la. ji. ltar. las. rnams. chud.[1] mi. ḥdsaḥ. bar. gdah.|

3. de. skad. ces. gsol. pa. daṅ| bcom. ldan. ḥdas. kyis. yul. ma. ga. dhaḥi. rgyal. po. bzo. sbyaṅs. gzugs. can. sñiṅ. po. la. ḥdi. skad. ces. bkaḥ. stsal. to||[2] rgyal. po. chen. po. ḥdi. lta. ste| dper. na. mi.[3] shig. ñal. baḥi. rmi. lam. na. yul. gyi. bud. med. bzaṅ. mo. daṅ. lhan. cig. tu. yoṅs. su. spyod. pa. rmis. la| de ñal. ba. las. sad. nas. yul. gyi. bud. med. bzaṅ. mo. de. dran. na. rgyal. po. chen. po. ḥdi. ji.[4] sñam. du. sems|[5] rmi. lam. gyi. yul. gyi. bud. med. bzaṅ. mo. de. yod. dam|

4. gsol. pa| bcom. ldan. ḥdas. de. ni. ma. mchis. lags. so||

5. bcom. ldan. ḥdas. kyis. bkaḥ. stsal. pa| rgyal. po. chen. po. ḥdi. ji. sñam. du. sems| ho. na.[5] gaṅ. rmi. lam. gyi. yul. gyi. bud.[6] med. bzaṅ. mo. la. mṅon. par. shen. paḥi. mi. de. mkhas. paḥi. raṅ. bshin. can. yin. nam|

6. gsol. pa| bcom. ldan. ḥdas. de. ni. ma. lags. te| de. ciḥi. slad. du. she. na| bcom. ldan. ḥdas. rmi. lam. gyi. yul. gyi. bud. med. bzaṅ. mo. haṅ.[7] śin. tu. ma. mchis. śiṅ. mi. dmigs. lags. na. de. daṅ. yoṅs. su. spyod. pa. la. lta. ga. la. mchis. te| ḥdi. ltar. mi. de. ni. phoṅs. śiṅ. dub. paḥi. skal. pa. can. du. ḥgyur. lags. so||

7. bcom. ldan. hdas. kyis. bkaḥ. stsal. pa| rgyal. po. chen. po. de. bshin. du. byis. pa. so. soḥi. skye. bo. thos. pa. daṅ. mi. ldan. pa [f. 281a] haṅ.[8] mig. gis. gzugs. rnams. mthoṅ. na.[9] yid. bde. bar. ḥgyur.[10] baḥi. gzugs. rnams. la. mṅon. par. shen. te|

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1. Xyl: chab. mi. ḥtshal.
2. It is already noticed that these passages are cited in the Madhyamakāvatāra. Different readings of this text and of the citation in the Tibetan version of the Madhyamakāvatāra (=M.A.) will be noted below.
3. M. A.: ma. shig.
4. M. A.: ci.
5. These sentences are omitted in M. A.
6. M. A.: bud. med. bzaṅ. mo. daṅ. lhan. cig. spyod. pa. rmis. la| de. ñal. ba. las. sad. nas. yul. gyi. bud. med. bzaṅ. mo. de. dran. paḥi. mi. de.
7. M. A.: yaṅ. ma. mchis.
8. M. A.: yaṅ.
9. M. A.: nas.
10. M. A.: gyur. paḥi.

mṅon. par. shen. par. gyur. nas.[1] rjes. su. chags. par. ḥgyur. ro|| rjes. su. chags. nas. kun. tu.[1] chags.[2] par. ḥgyur. ro|| kun. tu. chags.[3] nas. ḥdod. chags. las. byuṅ. ba. daṅ| she. sdaṅ las. byuṅ. ba. daṅ| gti. mug. las. byuṅ. baḥi. las. lus. daṅ| ṅag. daṅ| yid. kyis. mṅon. par. ḥdu. byed. de.[4]| las. de. mṅon. par. ḥdus. byas. par. gyur. nas. ḥgag. go.| hgag. pa. na. śar.[5] phyogs. su. brten. te. gnas. pa. ma. yin| lho. phyogs. su. ma. yin| nub. phyogs. su. ma. yin| byaṅ. phyogs. su. ma. yin| steṅ. du. ma. yin| hog. tu. ma. yin| phyogs. mtshams. rnams. su. brten. te. gnas. pa. ma. yin. no.[5]|| dus. gshan. ji. tsam. shig. na. ḥchi. baḥi. dus. daṅ. tshod.[6] ñe. bar. gnas. paḥi. tshe. de. daṅ| skal. pa. ḥdra. baḥi. las. zad. nas. rnam. par. śes. pa. tha. ma. ḥgag. paḥi. tshe. ḥdi. lta. ste| dper. na. ñal. ñal. ba. las. sad. pahi. miḥi. yul. gyi. bud. med. bzaṅ. mo. lta. bur. las.[7] de yid. la. mṅon. du ḥgyur. ro|| rgyal. po. chen. po. de. ltar. rnam. par, śes. pa. tha. ma. ḥgag. ciṅ. skye. bahi. char. gtogs. paḥi. rnam. par. śes. pa. daṅ. po. yaṅ. na. ni. lhaḥi.[8] naṅ. du| yaṅ.[9] na. ni. mihi. naṅ. du| yaṅ. na. ni. lha. ma. yin. gyi. naṅ. du| yaṅ. na. ni. sems. can. dmyal. baḥi. rnams. su| yaṅ. na. ni. dud. ḥgro. rnams. su[9]| yaṅ. na. ni. yi. dāgs [f. 281 b] rnams. su. ḥbyuṅ. bar. ḥgyur. ro|| rgyal. po. chen. po. rnam. par. śes. pa. daṅ. po. de. ḥgags. ma. thag. tu. gaṅ. la. rnam. par. smin. pa. myoṅ. bar. ḥgyur. ba.[10] mṅoṅ. pa. de. daṅ. skal. pa. ḥdra. baḥi. sems. kyi.[11] rgyud. ḥbyuṅ. ṅo|| rgyal. po. chen. po. de. la. chos. gaṅ. yaṅ. ḥjig. rten. ḥdi. nas. ḥjig. rten. pha. rol. tu. ḥpho. baḥaṅ.[12] med. la. ḥchi. ḥpho.[13] daṅ. skye. bar. mṅon. paḥaṅ. yod. de| rgyal. po. chen. po. de. la. gaṅ. rnam. par. śes. pa. tha. ma. ḥgag. pa. de. ni. ḥchi. ḥpho.[13] shes. bya|

1. These words omitted in M. A.
2. M. A.: chags. pa. skyed. par. byed. do.
3. M. A.: kun. tu. omitted.
4. M. A.: do.
5. These words shortened in M. A.: gnas. pa. ma. yin. pa. nas. phyogs. mtshams. rnams. su. ma. yin. no. shes bya. bahi. bar. daṅ.
6. M. A.: 'tshod' omitted.
7. M. A.: yid. las. de. ñid. la.
8. M. A.: lha. dag. gi.
9. These words shortened in M. A.: naṅ. du. shes. bya. ba. nas. yaṅ. na, ni. yi. dāgs, rnams. su. ḥbyuṅ. bar. ḥgyur. ro. shes. bya. byahi. bar. daṅ.
10. M. A.: bar.
11. M. A.: rgyun.
12. M. A,: yaṅ.
13. M. A.: hpho. ba.

gaṅ. rnam. par. śes. pa. daṅ. po. hbyuṅ. ba. de. ni. skye. ba. shes. byaho|| rgyal. po. chen. po. rnam. par. śes. pa. tha. ma. ḥgag. paḥi. tshehaṅ.[1] gaṅ. duhaṅ.[1] mi. hgro| rnam. par. śes. pa. daṅ.[2] po. skye. baḥi. char. gtogs. pa. ḥbyuṅ. baḥi. tshehaṅ. gaṅ. nas. kyaṅ. mi. hoṅ. ṅo|| de. ciḥi. phyir. she. na| ṅo.[3] bo. ñid. daṅ. bral. baḥi. phyir. ro|| rgyal. po. chen. po. de. la. rnam. par. śes. pa. tha. ma. ni. rnam. par. śes. pa. tha. mas. stoṅ.| ḥchi. ḥpho. ni. ḥchi. ḥphos. stoṅ.[4]| las. ni. las. kyis. stoṅ.| rnam. par. śes. pa. daṅ. po. ni. rnam. par. śes. pa. daṅ. pos. stoṅ.[4]| skye. ba. ni. skye. bas. stoṅ. la| las. rnams, chud. mi. za. bar.[5] mṅon[6] pahaṅ. yod. do|| rgyal. po. chen. po. rnam. par. šes. pa. daṅ. pohi. skye. baḥi. char. gtogs. pa. ḥgags. ma. thag. tu. bar. ma. chad. par. gaṅ. la. rnam. par. smin. pa. myoṅ. bar. hgyur. ba. mṅon. paḥi. sems. kyi. rgyud. ḥbyuṅ. ṅo|| bcom. ldan. ḥdas. kyis. de. skad. ces. bkaḥ. stsal. te| bde. bar. gśegs. pas. de. skad. gsuṅs. nas. ston. pas. gshan. yaṅ. ḥdi. skad. ces. bkaḥ. stsal. to||

8. ḥdi. dag. thams [282 a] cad. miṅ. tsam. ste||
ḥdu. śes. tsam. du. gnas. pa. yin||
brjod. pa. las. ni. gshan. gyur. pa||
brjod. par. bya. ba. yod. ma. yin||

9. miṅ. ni. gaṅ. daṅ. gaṅ. gis. su||
chos. rnams. gaṅ. daṅ. gaṅ. brgod. p.||
de. la. de. ni. yod. ma. yin||
ḥdi. ni. chos. rnams. chos. ñid. do||

10. miṅ. gis. miṅ. ñid. stoṅ. ba. ste||
miṅ. ni. miṅ. gis. yod. ma. yin||
miṅ. med. pa. yi. chos. rnams. kun||
miṅ. gis. yoṅs. su. brjod. par. byas||

11. chos. rnams. hdi. dag. yod. min. te||
rtog. pa. las. ni. kun. tu. ḥbyuṅ||
gaṅ. gis. stoṅ. par. rnam. rtog. pa||
rtog. pa. dehaṅ. ḥdi. na. med||

12. mig. gis. gzugs. ni. mthoṅ. ṅo. shes||
yaṅ. dag. gzigs. pas. gaṅ. gsuṅs. pa||

---

1. M. A.: yaṅ.
2. M. A.: daṅ. po. omitted.
3. M. A.: raṅ. bshin. dben. pahi. phyir. ro|
4. M. A.; stoṅ. ṅo.
5. M. A.: add yaṅ.
6. M. A.: mṅon. no. Here ends the quotation.

hjig. rten. log. pahi. dad. can. la||
kun. rdsob. bden. par. de. gsuṅs. so||

13. tshogs. nas. mthoṅ. shes. gaṅ. dag. tu||
ḥdren. pas. rab. tu. bstan. mdsad. pa||
de. ni. don. dam. gdags. paḥi sa||
blo. daṅ. ldan. pas. bkaḥ stsal. to||

14. mig. gis. gzugs. rnams. mi. mthoṅ. shiṅ||
yid. kyis. chos. rnams. mi. rig. pa||
de. ni. bden. pa. mchog. yin. te||
de. la. hjig. rten. mi. dpogs. so||

15. bcom. ldan. ḥdas. kyis. de. skad. ces. bkaḥ. stsal. nas| yul. ma. ga. dhaḥi. rgyal. po. bzo. sbyaṅs. gzugs. can. sñiṅ. po. daṅ| byaṅ. chub. sems. dpaḥ. de. dag. daṅ| dge. slon. de. dag. daṅ| lha. daṅ. mi. daṅ. lha. ma. yin. daṅ.| dri. zar. bcas. paḥi. ḥjig. rten. yi. raṅ. te| bcom. [282-*b*] ldan. ḥdas. kyis. gsuṅs. pa. la. mṅon. par. bstod. do||

ḥphags. pa. srid. pa. ḥpho. ba. shes. bya. ba. theg. pa. chen. pohi. mdo. rdsogs. so||

SOME MINOR WORKS OF ŚRĪ CITSUKHĀCĀRYA.

BY

T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A.,

Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit, Madras University.

Śrī Citsukhācārya was one of the greatest of Advaitins belonging to the 12th and 13th centuries of the Christian era. Several works of his have come down to us, though only two of them have seen the press. The following works of Citsukha are available at present:—

1. Tattvapradīpikā, a work printed already in the Nirnayasagara Press, Bombay.
2. Nyāyamakarandavyākhyā, a commentary on the Nyāyamakaranda of Ānandabodha, published in the Chowkhamba Press, Benares.
3. [1]Brahmasūtrabhāṣyabhāvaprakāśikā, a commentary on the Bhāṣya of Śrī Śaṅkara.*
4. [2]Brahmasiddhivyākhyā—Abhiprāyaprakāśikā, a commentary on the Brahmasiddhi of Maṇḍanamiśra.
5. [3]Pramāṇaratnamālāvyākhyā—Sambandhokti, a commentary on the Pramāṇaratnamālā of Ānandabodha.
6. [4]Adhikaraṇasaṅgati.
7. [5]Adhikaraṇamañjarī.
8. [6]Naiṣkarmyasiddhiṭīkā—Bhāvatattvaprakāśikā, a commentary on the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi.
9. [7]Pañcapādikāvivaraṇa Vyākhyā—Bhāvadyotanī.

* An edition of this work is under preparation by the author of this paper, under the auspices of the Madras University.

1.	*See*	G. O. Mss.	Library.	R. No.	3020
2.	„	„	„	„	3853
3.	„	„	„	„	3273
4.	„	„	„	„	3305
5.	„	„	„	„	„
6.	„	„	„	„	3271
7.	„	„	„	„	4305.

V—33

In all these works he tells us that he is the pupil of one Jñānottama. In the Tattvapradīpikā we are informed that this Jñānottama is Gauḍa, *i.e.*, a native of Bengal. The following colophon occurring at the end of the Tattvapradīpikā is worthy of note in this connection:—

इति श्रीगौडेश्वराचार्यपरमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यज्ञानोत्तमपूज्यपादशिष्यश्रीपरमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीचित्सुखमुनिविरचितायां तत्त्वप्रदीपिकायां चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ॥

The word Gauḍeśvarācārya leads to the conclusion that Jñānottama was a native of Bengal.

We know of another Jñānottama who is the author of a commentary on the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi of Sureśvara. But that Jñānottama is different from the teacher of Citsukha, for he is said to belong to the village Maṅgala in the Coladeśa.[1]

Regarding Jñānottama, the teacher of Citsukhācārya we have very little information, except what Citsukha and the commentator on the Tattvapradīpikā tell us. In the closing pages[2] of the Tattvapradīpikā we find—

एवं हि न्यायसुधायाम् आराध्यपादैरुपपादितं संसारमूलकारणाविद्या यद्यप्येकैव, तथापि तस्याः सन्त्येव बहव आकाराः ॥

And Pratyagrūpabhagavān, while commenting on this passage, remarks—

आराध्यपादाः स्वगुरवः ज्ञानसिद्धिकाराः । पादशब्दश्च पूजार्थः । तत्प्रणीतं च वेदान्तप्रकरणं न्यायसुधा ॥

From these extracts it is clear that Jñānottama was the author of a work on Vedānta, Nyāyasudhā by name. It may be surmised that the word Jñānasiddhikāra means the author of a work by name Jñānasiddhi. The Jñānasiddhi and the Nyāyasudhā referred to here are otherwise unknown.

The line of sannyāsins beginning with Jñānottama occupies a very important place in the galaxy of Advaitic writers of the

1. *See* Introduction to the Naiṣkarmya Siddhi—Edited by Prof. M. Hiriyanna, B.S.S.

2. *See* Page 395 of the Tattvapradīpikā. N. S. P.

12th and 13th centuries. The names of those persons may be indicated in tabular form as follows:—

Jñānottama

|

(Pupil.) Citsukhācārya

|

(Pupil.) Sukhaprakāśa

|

(Pupil.) Ānandagiri.

The works of Jñānottama and Citsukha have been referred to just now. Sukhaprakāśa is the author of a work by name Adhikaraṇaratnamālā, a copy of which is deposited in the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras. (R. No. 2902.) It deals with the adhikaraṇas of the Brahmasūtras in a lucid form. Sukhaprakāśa has, in addition, commented upon the Tattvapradīpikā and a copy of this work also is found in the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras. (R. No. 5203.) Ānandagiri, we all know, was the famous commentator on the works of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya. Fuller information regarding Ānandagiri is given in the Introduction to Ānandagiri's Tarkasaṅgraha, published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series.

Regarding the date of Citsukha there is not much difficulty. The date of Ānandagiri, as given by Mr. Tripāṭhī, B.A. the editor of the Tarkasaṅgraha, is fairly near the remark. He says on page xx of the introduction that Ānandagiri should have lived in the latter half of the 13th century. Calculating back from this date, one may conclude that the last quarter of the 12th century is the period of the literary activity of Citsukha.

In the following pages the Adhikaraṇamañjarī, a short compendium of the adhikaraṇas of the Brahmasūtras, is presented for the first time. The edition of this short treatise is based on two copies of the work found in the Oriental MSS. Library, Madras. (R. Nos. 1492 and 3305 designated A and B respectively.) The Adhikaraṇamañjarī will be followed by the other minor work the Adhikaraṇasaṅgati in a further issue of this Journal.

॥ अधिकरणमञ्जरी ॥

श्री चित्सुखाचार्यविरचिता

॥ अथ प्रथमः पादः ॥

प्रणम्य नरकारातिचरणाम्बुरुहद्वयम् ।
मुनिना चित्सुखाख्येन मञ्जरी चारु रच्यते ॥ १ ॥
बन्धाध्यासोऽगतार्थत्वं संभवो ह्यधिकारिणः ।
विषयादेश्च सद्भावः शास्त्रारम्भाय दर्शिताः ॥ २ ॥
लक्षणद्वयमीशस्य सार्वज्ञागममानते ।
सिद्धे वेदान्तमानत्वं विध्यस्पृष्टे परात्मनि ॥ ३ ॥
ईक्षितुश्चाप्रधानत्वं पुच्छस्य स्वप्रधानता ।
ब्रह्मत्वं मण्डलस्थस्य हिरण्मयवपुर्भृतः ॥ ४ ॥
आकाशस्य परेशत्वं अस्य लोकस्य का [या] गतिः ।
प्रस्तावदेवतायाश्च प्राणस्य परमात्मता ॥ ५ ॥
स्वः[1]परस्तादुपन्यस्तज्योतिषश्चित्प्रकाशता ।
गायत्रीपदबोध्यत्वं तदुपाधेश्चतुष्पदः ॥ ६ ॥
प्रज्ञात्मनश्च प्राणस्य परमात्मत्वमीरितम् ।
पादेऽधिकरणान्याद्ये द्वादशैतान्यनुक्रमात् ॥ ७ ॥

॥ इति श्रीमच्छारीरकाधिकरणमञ्जर्यां प्रथमस्याध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

हरेर्मनोमयः प्राणशरीरश्चेत्युपासनम् ।
ब्रह्म[2]क्षत्रौदनो विष्णुर्मृत्युर्यस्योपसेचनम् ॥ ८ ॥
गुहां प्रविष्टौ जीवेशौ परेशोऽक्षिणि वामनीः ।
अन्तर्यामी परात्मान्यो भूतयोनिश्च सर्ववित् ॥ ९ ॥
वैश्वानरो विराड्विष्णुरिति सप्त द्वितीयके ।

॥ इति प्रथमस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

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१. A. omits this ardha.

२. A. ब्रह्मक्षत्रादिजगतः संहार्ता परमेश्वरः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

द्युभ्वाद्यायतनं ब्रह्म भूमा प्राणातिगो हरिः ॥ १० ॥
सोऽक्षरं वियदाधारो ध्यातव्यः परमेश्वरः ।
दहरश्च तथोद्भूतो जीवः पाप्मादिवर्जितः ॥ ११ ॥
सर्वावभासकश्चायं हृद्यङ्गुष्ठमितश्च सः ।
तद्विद्याधिकृता देवा मन्त्राद्यैर्ज्ञातविग्रहाः ॥ १२ ॥
न तु शूद्रः श्रुतिमुखात् तद्भयात् कम्पते जगत् ।
स एवेशः परं ज्योतिराकाशो नामरूपकृत् ॥ १३ ॥
जीवोक्तिर्ब्रह्मतां वक्तुं तृतीये स्युश्चतुर्दश ।

॥ इति प्रथमस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

अव्यक्तं कारणाभेदाच्छरीरं रथरूपितम् ॥ १४ ॥
तेजोऽम्भोभूमयी माया त्रिरूपाजेति कल्पिता ।
प्राणादयः पञ्चजनाः पञ्च ते पञ्च पञ्च न ॥ १५ ॥
विगानं नागमान्तानां सर्वज्ञे कारणेऽद्वये ।
कर्मेशस्य जगत् ब्रह्म द्रष्टव्यं चित्तवृत्तदृक् ॥ १६ ॥
निमित्तं प्रकृतिश्चेशो नाभावाण्वादि कारणम् ।
चतुर्थेऽष्टौ मिलित्वैकचत्वारिंशत् समन्वये ॥ १७ ॥

॥ इति प्रथमस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥ अध्यायश्च समाप्तः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥

समन्वयविरुद्धेऽर्थे न सांख्यानां स्मृतिः प्रमा ।
योगानां च विरुद्धेंऽशे योगे यद्यपि सा प्रमा ॥ १८ ॥
विलक्षणाज्जगज्जन्म वृश्चिकस्येव गोमयात् ।
मानं न तर्कस्मृतयो नेशैक्याद्विश्वसङ्करः ॥ १९ ॥
कल्पितं ब्रह्मणि जगत् तद्धेतोर्न हिताहिते ।
अबाह्यसाधनं ब्रह्म पयोवद्विश्वकारणम् ॥ २० ॥
अचिन्त्यशक्तिमद्ब्रह्म न कार्त्स्न्येन विवर्तते ।
अनिन्द्रियोऽपि विश्वेशो विश्वशक्तियुतः श्रुतेः ॥ २१ ॥

आप्तकामस्य लीलेयं स्वभावाल्लोककल्पना ।
न वैषम्यं न नैर्घृण्यं कर्मापेक्षे जगद्गुरौ ॥ २२ ॥
स्युर्मायिनः परे सर्वे कारणानुगुणा गुणाः ।
स्मृतिपादगता न्यायाः क्रमादेते त्रयोदश ॥ २३ ॥

॥ इति द्वितीयस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

प्रधानं न प्रवर्तेत चेतनेनाप्रवर्तितम् ।
चेतनाज्जडजन्म स्यात् ह्रस्ववत्परिमण्डलात् ॥ २४ ॥
अपास्तकर्महेतुभ्यो नाणुभ्यो जायते जगत् ।
क्षणिकेभ्यस्तु न तरां समुदायाद्यसंभवात् ॥ २५ ॥
नाभावो बाह्यभावानां प्रत्यक्षादिविरोधतः ।
न चानेकात्मकं वस्तु व्यवहारविरोधतः ॥ २६ ॥
नावेदमान ईशानो वैषम्यादिप्रसङ्गतः ।
व्यूहाद्व्यूहान्तरोत्पत्तिभावो भागवतो भ्रमः ॥ २७ ॥
इति न्यायाः क्रमादष्टौ तर्कपादावलम्बिनः ।

॥ इति द्वितीयस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

आदौ वियत उत्पत्तिरुत्पत्तिर्मातरिश्वनः ॥ २८ ॥
अनुत्पत्तिः परेशस्य तेजसः पवनाज्जनिः ।
तेजसोऽपामन्नशब्दपृथिव्याः संभवोऽम्भसः ॥ २९ ॥
ईशावेशश्चोत्तरेषां प्रतिलोमाल्लयो जनेः ।
खसृष्ट्योक्तक्रमाबाधो नाद्यन्तौ पुंसि देहगौ ।
नापि सर्गे विसर्गोऽस्य तस्य चैतन्यरूपता ॥ ३० ॥
अनणुत्वं स्वतश्चास्य कर्तृत्वं च श्रुतेर्वशात् ।
अस्य चोपाध्यधीनत्वमीश्वरायत्तता तथा ॥ ३१ ॥
ज्ञेयांशत्वं वियत्पादे न्यायाः सप्तदशेत्यमी ।

॥ इति द्वितीयस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

१. B. अप्रमः

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

इन्द्रियाणां समुत्पत्तिस्तत्संख्यैकादशात्मना ॥ ३२ ॥
तेषां सौक्ष्म्यपरिच्छेदौ मुख्यप्राणस्य संभवः ।
वायुक्रियाभ्यां तद्भेदः करणानामिवाणुता ॥ ३३ ॥
अक्षाणां देवतापेक्षा प्राणतत्त्वातिरिक्तता ।
व्याकृतेरीशकार्यत्वं प्राणपादे नया नव ॥ ३४ ॥
अविरोधे नयाः सप्तचत्वारिंशदितीरिताः ।

॥ इति द्वितीयस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥ अध्यायश्च समाप्तः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयोऽध्यायः ॥

॥ प्रथमः पादः ॥

गतिर्भूतांशयुक्तस्य कर्मशेषः पतत्सु च ॥ ३५ ॥
चन्द्राप्राप्तिरपुण्यानामाकाशादिसरूपता ।
तेभ्योऽचिरान्निष्क्रमणं तेषामस्थावरात्मता ॥ ३६ ॥
इति वैराग्यपादेऽस्मिन् नयाः षडनुवर्णिताः ।

॥ इति तृतीयस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

स्वप्नस्य मायामात्रत्वं नाडीद्वारा परे लयः ॥ ३७ ॥
तस्य तत्रैव चोत्थानं मोहावस्थाविभिन्नता ।
परस्य निर्विशेषत्वं तस्य चाप्रतिषिद्धता ॥ ३८ ॥
तस्माद्वस्त्वन्तराभावः तस्यैव फलदातृता ।
एवं पदार्थपादेऽस्मिन्नष्टौ न्याया निरूपिताः ॥ ३९ ॥

॥ इति तृतीयस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

शाखाभेदेऽपि विद्यैक्यं तदैक्ये च गुणागमः ।
उद्गीथविद्ययोर्भेदश्छान्दोग्यारण्यकस्थयोः ॥ ४० ॥
विशेषणविशेष्यत्वमुद्गीथोङ्कारशब्दयोः ।
सर्वत्र प्राणविद्यासु वसिष्ठत्वादिसन्निधिः ॥ ४१ ॥

विद्याभेदात्तत्र तत्र चिदानन्दाद्युपस्थितिः ।
अर्थादिभ्यः परत्वेन पुरुषस्यैव बोधनम् ॥ ४२ ॥
अम्भःप्रभृति लोकानां स्रष्टा यः परमेश्वरः ।
सद्विद्यायां चात्मतत्त्वगृहीतिर्वाजिनामिव ॥ ४३ ॥
प्राणस्य वासोऽभिध्याने विधिराचमने न सः ।
या विद्याग्निरहस्योक्ता बृहदारण्यकेऽपि सा ॥ ४४ ॥
मण्डलाक्षिस्थपुरुषौ क्रमादहरहंगुणौ ।
शाण्डिल्याद्यासु विद्यासु न संभृत्यादयो गुणाः ॥ ४५ ॥
भिद्यते विदुषो यज्ञाद्विद्या सा पुरुषाभिधा ।
विद्यासन्निधिपाठेऽपि नाङ्गत्वं मन्त्रकर्मणोः ॥ ४६ ॥
उपायनोपसंहारः पुण्यादेर्हानिसन्निधौ ।
प्रायणे कर्मणां हानिर्न व्यध्वनि विधूननम् ॥ ४७ ॥
सगुणासु गतिः साध्वी निर्गुणासु निरर्थिका ।
सर्वाश्च सगुणा विद्या देवयानसमन्विताः ॥ ४८ ॥
विद्याया मोक्षहेतुत्वं प्रारब्धादेव संहृतेः ।
निषेधबुद्धयः सर्वाः स्युः सर्वत्र परात्मनि ॥ ४९ ॥
एकार्थता द्वा सुपर्णावृतमित्यादिमन्त्रयोः ।
तथैव चैकविद्यात्वं कहोलोषस्तवाक्ययोः ॥ ५० ॥
अन्योऽन्यात्मकते चिन्त्ये जीवात्मपरमात्मनोः ।
या सत्यविद्या निर्दिष्टा सैवैषाहरहंगुणा ॥ ५१ ॥
शारीरदहराः सर्वे स्तुतिध्यानफला गुणाः ।
प्राणाहुतीनां लोपः स्यात् प्राप्तभक्तोपजीवनात् ॥ ५२ ॥
साङ्गं कर्माङ्गविज्ञानं कर्मणः फलभेदतः ।
ध्येयौ समीरणप्राणौ भेदेन गुणभेदतः ॥ ५३ ॥
नाङ्गं मनश्चिदादीनि न शरीरात्मतात्मनः ।
शाखाभेदेऽपि चोद्गीथाद्युपासनसमन्वयः ॥ ५४ ॥
सुतेजःप्रभृतीनां च समस्यैव विचिन्तनम् ।
उपास्यैक्येऽप्यहंकाराद्विद्याः शब्दादिभेदतः ॥ ५५ ॥
अहंग्रहोपासनासु विकल्पोऽनियमेन तु ।
अनहंग्रहरूपासु यथाकामं समुच्चयः ॥ ५६ ॥

अङ्गाश्रितोपासनासु नाङ्गवत् स्यात्समुच्चयः ।
इत्थं गुणोपसंहारे न्यायाः षट्त्रिंशदीरिताः ॥ ५७ ॥

॥ इति तृतीयस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

स्वतो मुक्तिफला विद्या नाश्नुते कर्मशेषताम् ।
गृहमेधिवदेवान्ये विधीयन्ते[येत] आश्रमान्तरम् ॥ ५८ ॥
विधेयताङ्गविद्यानां विद्याङ्गत्वं कथासु च ।
न कर्मापेक्षते मुक्तौ धीः स्वसिद्धावपेक्षते ॥ ५९ ॥
अनुज्ञा चाप्यभक्ष्यस्य यज्ञादेर्नित्यतापि च ।
विधुराणामधिकृतिर्यत्यादेराश्रमच्युतिः ॥ ६० ॥
निष्कृतिर्व्रतलोपस्य पूतस्याप्यस्य बाह्यता ।
ऋत्विक्कर्माङ्गविज्ञानं विधिर्मौनस्य बाल्यवत् ॥ ६१ ॥
बाल्यं दम्भादिविरहो जन्मन्यनियमो धियः ।
नियमो विद्यया मुक्तेर्न्यायाः सप्तदशेत्यमी ॥ ६२ ॥
पुरुषार्थे तदित्थं स्युः सप्तषष्टिस्तु साधने ।

॥ इति तृतीयस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥ अध्यायश्च समाप्तः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ॥

॥ प्रथमः पादः ॥

आवृत्तिः श्रवणादीनां स्वात्मत्वमतिरीश्वरे ॥ ६३ ॥
तदभावः प्रतीकेषु ब्रह्मधीर्मनआदिषु ।
अङ्गेष्वर्कादिविज्ञानं ध्यानस्यासीनकर्मता ॥ ६४ ॥
ध्याने दिगाद्यनियमः प्रयाणावधि तत्कृतिः ।
अपापतात्मविज्ञानात्ततश्च सुकृतात्ययः ॥ ६५ ॥
प्रारब्धं क्षीयते नास्मान्न नित्यं तद्धि धीफलम् ।
अज्ञकर्मापि विद्याप्त्यै भोगात्प्रारब्धसंक्षयः ॥ ६६ ॥
इत्थं चतुर्थप्रथमे पादे न्यायाश्चतुर्दश ।

॥ इति चतुर्थस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

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१. A. यश.

॥ अथ द्वितीयः पादः ॥

वाग्वृत्तिविलयश्चित्ते प्राणे तद्वृत्तिसंक्षयः ॥ ६७ ॥
प्राणवृत्तेर्लयोऽध्यक्षे समोत्क्रान्तिरुपासके ।
लयस्य [1]शक्तिशेषत्वं तेजआदेः परात्मनि ॥ ६८ ॥
अनुत्क्रान्तिः परविदः कलानां प्रलयः परे ।
तस्य चानवशेषत्वं गतिर्ध्यातुः सुषुम्नया ॥ ६९ ॥
रात्रावपि प्रभावाप्तिः फलाप्तिरयनद्वये ।
एवमुत्क्रान्तिपादेऽस्मिन्नेकादश नयाः क्रमात्[2] ॥ ७० ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ तृतीयः पादः ॥

अर्चिरादिपथैकत्वं स्ववार्यू वत्सरोपरि ।
तटितो वरुणेन्द्राद्यास्तथैषां देवतात्मता ॥ ७१ ॥
कार्यं ब्रह्मैव गन्तव्यं प्रतीकालम्बिनां न तु ।
इत्यर्चिरादिपादेऽस्मिन्नयाः षडनुभाषिताः ॥ ७२ ॥

॥ इति चतुर्थस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

॥ अथ चतुर्थः पादः ॥

आविर्भावः स्वेन मुक्तौ [3]तस्य ब्रह्माविभक्तता ।
तत्र मायामयैश्वर्यं संकल्पादेव तत्कृतिः ॥ ७३ ॥
विकल्पोऽस्य शरीरादेस्तत्प्रवेशः प्रदीपवत् ।
सृष्ट्यादिवर्जमैश्वर्यं न्यायाः सप्तान्त्यपादिकाः[दगाः] ॥ ७४ ॥
अष्टात्रिंशत्फलाध्याये न्याया एवमितीरिताः ।
रामग्रहेन्दुसंख्याता न्यायाः शारीरकाश्रयाः ॥ ७५ ॥

॥ इति ज्ञानोत्तमपूज्यपादशिष्येण चित्सुखमुनिना विरचितायाम्
अधिकरणमञ्जर्यां
चतुर्थस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥ अध्यायश्च समाप्तः ॥

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१. A. सावशेषत्वं
२. A. स्मृताः
३. A. तत्र ब्रह्माविकल्पता
४. A. वैयासिकाः स्मृताः

HISTORY OF GRAMMATICAL THEORIES IN TAMIL AND THEIR RELATION TO THE GRAMMATICAL LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT.

BY

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, M.A., PH. D.,

Assistant Editor, Tamil Lexicon.

(Continued from page 195 of Vol. V.)

Since the 11 sounds *ṅ, ñ, ṇ, n, m, ṉ, y, l, v, ḷ* and ஃ can come as *oṟṟaḷapeṭai* after one short vowel or two short vowels, in the middle of words in the case of all and at the end in the case of all except ஃ, the number of *oṟṟaḷapeṭai* is $11 \times 4 - 2 = 42$[1]. Since *kuṟṟiyal-ikaram* takes the place of *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram* when the latter is followed by '*y*' in sandhi and there are 36 *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram* and the '*i*' in the particle '*miyā*' in such words as *kēṇmiyā* is *kuṟṟiyal-ikaram*, its number is $36 + 1 = 37$[2]. Since *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram* may be preceded by one of the 7 long vowels alone, two or more vowels except '*au*' (which are therefore 11 in number), *āytam*, 6 voiceless consonants, 6 nasals and all semi-vowels except '*v*' (which are therefore 5 in number), its number is $7 + 11 + 1 + 6 + 6 + 5 = 36$[3]. Since *aikāra-k-kuṟukkam* may be found at the beginning, the middle and the end of words, its number is 3[4]. Since *aukāra-k-kuṟukkam* can be had only at the beginning of words, its number is only 1[5]. Since *makara-k-kuṟukkam* can be had after *ṇ* and *ṉ* and before *v*, as in *maruṇṁ, pōṉṁ, taruṁ-vaḷavaṉ*, its number is 3[6]. Since *āytam* may be

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1. *Ṅa-ña-ṇa na-ma-ṉa va-ya-la-ḷa v-āytam*
Aḷapāṅ kuṟil-iṇai kuṟiṟ-kīḻ-iṭai-kaṭai
Mikalē y-avaṟṟiṉ kuṟi-y-ām vēṟē. (Ibid. 92.)

2. *Yakaram vara-k-kuṟa ḷ-u-t-tiri y-ikaramum*
Acai-c-col miyā-v-i ṉ-ikaram-uṅ kuṟiya. (Ibid. 93.)

3. *Neṭilō ṭ-āyta m-uyir-vali meli-y-iṭai*
Toṭar-moḻi y-iṟuti vaṉmai-y-ū r-ukaram
Aḵkum piṟamēl toṭara-v-um peṟum-ē. (Ibid 94.)

4 & 5. *Taṟ-cuṭ ṭ-aḷapoḻi y-ai-mmū vaḻi-y-um*
Nai-y-u m-au-v-u mutal-aṟ ṟākum. (Ibid. 95.)

6. *Ṇa-ṉa-muṉṉum va ḵkāṉ micaiyu-ma-k kuṟukum.* (Ibid. 96.)

substituted for *l* or *ḷ* in sandhi, as in *al* + *tiṉai* = *aஃṟiṉai* and *muḷ* + *tītù* = *muஃṭītù* and its *mātrā* is ¼ (according to him), the number of *āyta-k-kuṟukkam* is 2[1].

Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar repeats under Tol. E. 1 the opinion of Iḷampūraṇar.

The author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam mentions that the secondary sounds are 240 in number consisting of *kuṟṟiyal-ikaram*, *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram*, *āytam*, 216 *uyirmey*, 7 *uyir-aḷapeṭai*, 11 *oṟṟaḷapeṭai*, shortened *'ai'* and shortened *'au'* and *makara-k-kuṟukkam* and condemns Naṉṉūlār and says that *āytam* never reduces itself to ¼ of a *mātrā*, and that other sounds like *uyir-aḷapeṭai*, etc., except *uyir-mey* remain the same, whether they stand at the beginning, the middle or the end of words and that therefore the number 369 mentioned by Naṉṉūlār cannot stand[2].

Civañāṉa-muṉivar, on the other hand, says that there is no purpose served by taking *uyirmey* as *cārpeḻuttù*, that *uyiraḷa-peṭai* is only a short vowel added to the previous long vowel to lengthen its *mātrā*, that *oṟṟaḷapeṭai* is only a consonant that is added for the sake of lengthening the *mātrā*, and shortened *'ai'* shortened *'au'* and *makara-k-kuṟukkam* are produced at the same part of the vocal organs as *'ai'*, *'au'* and *'m'* respectively, but vary only in their quantity. Besides one cannot say that *kuṟṟiyal-ikaram* and *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram* are shortened *'i'* and shortened *'u'* in the same way as shortened *'ai'* and shortened *'au'*. For, had it been the opinion of Tolkāppiyaṉār, he would have designated them as *kuṟṟikaram* and *kuṟṟukaram* and not as *kuṟ-ṟiyal-ikaram* and *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram*, and would not have indicated a separate symbol for them as he now does in Tol. E. 2.[3]

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1. *La-ḷa-v-īṟ ṟ-iyaipiṉā m-āyta m-a ∴ kum.* (Ibid. 97.)

2. *Āyata-k-kuṟukkam-oṉṟu iṉṟeṉavum....uyirmey-y-oḻittù ēṉaiya-v-ellām iṭavēṟṟumaiyāṉ-aṉṟi eḻuttu-vēṟṟumaiyāṉ aṅṅaṉam palkāmaiyir cārpeḻuttù munnūṟṟaṟupattoṉpatām eṉṟal nirampātù.*

3. *Iṉi immūṉṟumē-y-aṉṟi uyirmey mutaliyavaṟṟaiyuñ cār-peḻutteṉpārum uḷarālō v-eṉiṉ;—....uyir-mey eṉpataṉai....oṟṟumai-nayam-paṟṟi oṉṟù eṉpataṉāl oru payaṉ-iṉmaiyāṉum....aḷapeṭai cārpeḻutteṉa vēṟākāmai muṉṉar-k-kāṭṭappaṭṭatākalāṉum, aikāra-k-kuṟukka mutaliyaṉa....vēṟeḻuttenā-p-paṭā-v-ākalāṉum vaṭanūlārum.. ..uyir-mey, uyir-aḷapeṭai, aikāra-k-kuṟukkam mutaliya eḻuttukkaḷai-c-ciṟitù tirintamai-paṟṟi vēṟeḻutteṉa yāṇṭuṅ colḷāmaiyāṉum atu poruntātu eṉa maṟukka.* (T. M. V. 29—30).

I totally agree with Civañāṉa-muṉivar. I may add that the definition given to *cārpeḻuttŭ* by the commentators on Naṉṉūl to include vowel-consonants does not at all hold good. (Cf. 1.221. *supra.*) They say '*tammoṭŭ tām cārntatŭ*'. In the vowel-consonant '*ka*', we may say that '*k*' is in the company of '*a*' or '*a*' is in the company of '*k*'. Hence either of the two may be said to be *cārpeḻuttŭ* with respect to the other. How can the whole be called *cārpeḻuttŭ?* Besides it may be noted here that in many places the sounds '*ka*', '*ca*', '*ṭa*', etc. are used to represent only the consonantal sound '*k*', '*c*', '*ṭ*', etc. to enable the hearer to understand what consonant is pronounced and Tolkāppiyaṉār himself says so in the sūtra *Meyyi ṉ-iyakka m-akaramoṭŭ civaṇum.* E. 46. He has also used the symbols '*ka*' (க), '*ca*' (ச), etc. to represent '*k*' (க்), '*c*' (ச்), etc.[1]; besides for the purpose of representing the sounds '*kā*', '*ki*', '*kī*', etc., the symbols denoting '*ā*', '*i*', '*ī*' etc. are added to the symbol denoting '*ka*' and not to the symbol denoting '*k*'. These three points, it seems to me, may have led the author of Nēminātam, Naṉṉūlār and others to mistake *uyirmey* for a unitary sound. As regards *aḷapeṭai* and shortened '*ai*'. Tolkāppiyaṉār himself ha mentioned them in the sūtras,

Mūvaḷa p-icaitta l-ōr-eḻut t-iṉṟē. (Tol. E. 5.)
Nīṭṭam vēṇṭi ṉ-a-v-v-aḷa p-uṭaiya
Kūṭṭi y-eḻuuta l-eṉmaṉār pulavar. (ibid. 6.

and

Ōr-aḷa p-āku m-iṭaṉumā r-uṇṭē
Tēruṅ kālai moḻi-vayi ṉ-āṉa. (ibid. 57.)

but has not included them among secondary sounds.

1.223. *Classification of secondary sounds*:—The secondary sounds are not classified by Tolkāppiyaṉār either as vowels or as consonants, or as neither. But according to Naṉṉūlār and the later grammarians except Civañāṉa-muṉivar they may be classified into vowel secondary sounds, consonant secondary sounds and secondary sounds that are neither. This point will be dealt with at greater length in 1.348, 1.3481, 1.3482, 1.3483, 1.3484, 1.47 & 1.5.

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1. Cf. *Valleḻut t-eṉpa* ka-ca-ṭa ta-pa-ṟa. (Tol. E. 19.)
Melleḻut t-eṉpa ṅa-ña-ṇa na-ma-ṉa. (Ibid. 20.)
Iṭai-y-eḻut t-eṉpa ya-ra-la va-ḻa-ḷa. (Ibid. 21.)

1.3. VOWELS: 1.31. CLASSIFICATION.

1.311. *Ancient period*:—(Tolkāppiyaṉār says that) there are 12 vowels from '*a*' to '*au*' which may be classified thus:

Primary vowels:	Simple vowels:	Short:	*a, i, u, e* & *o*
		Long:	*ā, ī, ū, ē* & *ō*
	Diphthongs[1]		*ai* and *au*

Secondary vowels; *i̇* (shortened i) and *u̇* (shortened u).[2]

1.312. *Medieval period*:—The primary vowels are the same as those in the ancient period; but the secondary vowels are '*i̇*', '*u̇*', '*ai̇*' (shortened *ai*) and '*au̇*' (shortened *au*) and *uyiraḷa-peṭai, āa, īi, ūu, ēe, aii, ōo* and *auu*.

1.313. *Modern period*:—According to Ilakkaṇa-viḷakkam and Toṉṉūl-viḷakkam the primary vowels are the same as those of the ancient period and the secondary ones as those of the medieval period; but according to Civañāṉa-muṉivar's Tolkāppiya-mutaṟ-cūttira-virutti both the primary and the secondary vowels are the same as those of the ancient period.

N.B.—The parallelism between

'*Aukāra viṟuvāy-p paṉṉīr-eḻuttum*
uyir-eṉa moḻipa'. (Tol. E. 8.)

and

'*Akārādyāḥ svarā jñeyāḥ*
aukārāntāḥ caturdaśa'. (B. N. p. 170, 8.)

is worth noting; but we cannot say definitely whether the extant text of Nāṭya Śāstra is anterior or posterior to Tolkāppiyam.

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1. He does not mention the name diphthongs, but suggests it in the sūtras

Akara ikara m-aikāra m-ākum. (Tol. E. 54.)
Akara ukara m-aukāra m-ākum. (Ibid. 55.)

2. He does not mention '*i̇*' and '*u̇*' as vowels, though, for practical purposes, they may be taken as such.

1.32. *Quantity of vowels*:—Short vowels have one *mātrā*,[1] long vowels and diphthongs two[2] and secondary vowels half[3]. The shortened '*ai*' and the shortened '*au*' have one *mātrā* according to Tolkāppiyaṉār[4] and one and a half according to Peruntēvaṉār[5] and Kuṇavīra-paṇṭitar[6]; but only one *mātrā* according to Naṉṉūlār[7] and the later grammarians.[8]

1.33. *Quality of vowels*:—All vowels are open sounds, as is seen from the statement '*aṅkāntiyalum*' in the sūtra

'*Avaṟṟuḷ*
A ā ā-y-iraṇ ṭ-aṅkāṉtiyalum' (Tol. E. 86) and
'*avaṟṟōraṉṉa*' in the sūtra,
I-ī e-ē ai-y-eṉa v-icaikkum
A-p-pā l-aintu m-avaṟṟō r-aṉṉa.
Avaitām,
Aṉ-paṉ mutaṉā viḷimp-uṟa l-uṭaiya.' (ibid. 86.)

and '*italkuvintiyalum*' in the sūtra,

'*U-ū o-ō au-v-eṉa v-icaikkum*
A-p-pā l-aintu m-italkuvin t-iyalum.' (ibid. 87.)

All the later grammarians agree with Tolkāppiyaṉār in thi point.

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1. *Avaṟṟuḷ*
A i u
E o eṉṉu m-appā l-aintum
Ōraḷa picaikkum kuṟṟeḻut t-eṉpa. (Tol. E. 3.)
2. *Ā ī ū*
Ē ai
Ō au eṉṉu m-appā l-ēḻum
Īraḷa picaikku neṭṭeḻut t-eṉpa. (Ibid. 4.)
3. *Avviya ṉilaiyu m-ēṉai mūṉṟē.* (Ibid. 12.)
4. *Ōraḷa pāku m-iṭaṉum-ā r-uṇṭē*
Tēruṅ kālai moḻivayi ṉ-āṉa. (Ibid. 57.)
5. *Aikāra aukāra-k kuṟukkaṅkaḷ oṉṟarai*
māttirai peṟum. (V. C. 5 Comm.)
6. *Kuṟiṉetilka ḷ-oṉṟiraṇṭu....*
....
....
Ai-y-au v-aḷavu oṉ ṟarai. (N. N. E. 5.)
7. *Mūṉṟu uyiraḷapu iraṇṭām neṭil oṉṟē*
Kuṟilōṭu ai au-k kuṟukkam oṟṟaḷapu
.........................(Na. 99.)
8. *Neṭil-iraṇ ṭai-y-au-k kuṟukkaṉ kuṟil-oṉṟu*
.........................(I. V. 24.)

A and *ā* are guttural vowels[1] *i, ī, e, ē* and *ai* are palatal[2] and *u, ū, o, ō* and *au* are labial.[3]. The minute distinction as regards the place of production of *i* or *ī, e* or *ē* and *ai*, and of *u* or *ū, o* or *ō* and *au* is not clearly expressed, but it is mentioned that their distinction is only small.[4 & 5] The places of production of *i̇, u̇* are modified, according to Tolkāppiyam, by the consonant in whose company they are.[6] It seems to me that it is the consonant that precedes them that modifies their places of production; for instance in the words *nākkiyātu̇* (*nākku̇+yātu̇*) and *tappiyātu̇* (*tappu̇+yātu̇*), *i̇* is respectively guttural and labial. Simlarly in the words *nākku̇, taccu̇, kaṭṭu̇, mattu̇* and *tappu̇* '*u̇*' is respectively guttural, palatal, alveolar or cerebral, dental and labial. But the authors of Naṉṉūl and Ilakkaṇa-viḷakkam[7] say that they (*i̇* and *u̇*) respectively agree with '*i*' and '*u*' in the place of production. Civañāṉa-muṉivar on the other hand agrees with Tolkāppiyaṉār[8] and he seems to be correct.

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1. *Avaṟṟuḷ*
A ā āyiraṉ ṯ-aṅkāṉ tiyalum. (Tol. E. 85.)
2. *Iī eē ai-y-eṉa v-icaikkum*
Appā l-aintu m-avaṟṟō ṟ-aṉṉa
Avaitām
Aṇpaṉ mutaṉā viḷimpuṟa l-uṇaiya. (Ibid. 86.)
3. *U ū o ō au-v-eṉa v-icaikkum*
Appā l-aintu m-itaḻ-kuvin tiyalum. (Ibid. 87.)
4. *Tattan tiripē ciṟiya v-eṉpa* (Ibid. 88.)
5. This is perhaps after the model of Prātiśākhyas. For instance in Ṡaunakaprātiśākhya it is said that *e*, 2nd *varga*, *i* & *ī ai*, *y* & *ś* are palatals. Cf. *Tālavyavēkāra cakāravargā vikāraikārāuyakaraḥ śakāraḥ* (R. V. P. i, 19). Similarly *u, ū, ō, āu*, 5th varga, *v* & upadhmānīya are said as labials. (Cf. R. V. P. 1. 20).
6. *Cārntu-vari ṉ-allatu tamakkiyal pila-v-eṉa-t*
Tērntu-veḷi-p paṭutta v-ēṉai mūṉṟum
Tattañ cārpiṟ piṟappoṭu civaṇi
Otta kāṭciyiṟ ṟam-m-iyal p-iyalum (Tol. E. 101).
7. ....
Cārpeḻut tēṉavun tammuta l-aṉaiya. (Na. 87.)
Cārpeḻut tēṉavun tam-muta l-aṉaiya. (I. V. 13.)
8. *Iṭamum paṟṟukkōṭum kuṟṟiyal-ikarak kuṟṟiyal-ukaraṅkaṇiṟṟaṟku-c cārpeṉavē-y-aṉṟi-k kuṟukiyicaittaṟku-k kāraṇamākā eṉakkoḷka.* (T. M. V. p. 28.)

1·34. *Treatment of each vowel sound.*

1.341. '*A*' : 1.3411. Dr. Caldwell says in p. 133 "In Tamil '*a*' is the heaviest of all the simple vowels and therefore the most liable to change. It evinces a tendency to be weakened into '*e*' (Cf. Skt. *balam*—strength, with Tamil *belam*: Skt. *japa*—prayer, with Tamil *śebam*. *See also* the pronoun of the first person)".

It seems that the change of '*a*' to '*e*' in the above *tadbhava* words is not due so much to the heaviness of '*a*' as to the peculiar way in which '*g*', '*j*', '*ḍ*', '*d*' and '*b*', the third plosive consonant of each varga in Sanskrit is pronounced. They are pronounced as '*gə*', '*jə*' '*ḍə*', '*də*' and '*bə*'. When the Tamilians first learnt these sounds which were new to them, they had a tendency to write *belam* for *balam* though later on they began to adopt both the forms *palaṉ* and *pelaṉ*. This may be clearly seen from the following table:

Sanskrit	Tamil
Gaṅgātīra	*keṅkātīram*[1]
Garuḍa	*keluḻaṉ*[2]
Gaṭāyus	*keṭāyu*[3]
Gaja	*kecam*[4]
Japa	*cepam*[5]
Bahuvrīhi	*vekuviriyaṉ*[6].

But at the same time they use the same sounds without change also.

Sanskrit	Tamil
Gagana	*kakaṉam*[7]

1. *Keṅkā-tīrattu-t-tēcam.* (P. K. 33, 220.)
(The country on the banks of the Ganges.)
2. *Keluḻaṉō nanta ṉeṉṉā.* (C. C. 1926.)
(Whether Nanda is Garuḍa.)
3. *Camar purintavaṉ-rāṉum ketāyu v-āyiṉāṉ.* (V. P. 405, 37.)
(Even he who engaged himself in battle lost his life.)
4. *Keca turaka mutalāṉa caturaṅkam.* (Tā. 33, 6.)
(The four limbs consisting of elephants, horses, etc.)
5. *Cepan-tavan-tāṉam.* (C. P. 319, 2.)
(Meditation, penance and gifts.)
6. *Vekuviriyaṉ.* (Pi. 24.)
(Possessive compound.)
7. *Kakaṉa-vāṉarkaḷ* (Ka. P. i. 493, 13.)
(Residents of celestial regions.)

Sanskrit	Tamil
Gaṅgā	*kaṅkai*[1]
Gaja	*kacam*[2].

The same change does not generally take place when '*a*' is preceded in Sanskrit by *kh* or *gh*, *ch* or *jh*, *dh*, *ph* or *bh*.

Sanskrit	Tamil
Khadyōta	*kaccōtam*[3]
Ghaṭa	*kaṭam*[4]
Chala	*calam*[5]
Jhaṭiti	*caṭiti*[6]
Dharaṇi	*taraṇi*[7]
Phala	*paḻam*[8]
Bhaya	*payam*[9].

Hence we may safely infer that '*a*' generally changes to '*e*' when it is preceded by the third consonant of each varga and not by the second or the fourth. Besides such a change is not seen in pure Tamil words.

1.3412. Dr. Caldwell further observes that "'*a*' has almost entirely disappeared from the end of nouns in Tamil and has been succeeded by '*u*' or '*ei*'. Where final '*a*' changes into '*ei*' in Tamil, it generally changes into '*e*' in Canarese.... In Telugu and especially in Malayāḷam, this vowel is less subject to changes".

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1. *Kaṅkai kaṅkai y-eṉṟa vācakattālē.* (P. A. T. 80, 1.)
   (With the words of the Ganges, the Ganges.)
2. *Kaca-rata-turaka-mā-k-kaṭal.* (Kampar, B. 149, 22.)
   (The vast sea of elephants, chariots and horses.)
3. *Kaccōtam eṉṟu karuti.* (Ka. P. i. 569, 43.)
   (Having taken it to be glow-worm.)
4. *Kaṭamuṉi-cēṟalōṭum.* (Ka. P. i. 133, 65.)
   (With the arrival of the pot-sage Agastya.)
5. *Cala-p-paṭaiyāṉ iraviṟ ṟākkiyat-ellām.* (Pari. 43, 57.)
   (All the on-slaughts of the Indian Cupid at nights.)
6. *Caṭiti vīḻntu.* (C. P. 84, 20.)
   (Having fallen soon.)
7. *Taraṇi-mēṟ ṟilakam-aṉṉāy.* (C. C. 1178.)
   (You are like a *tilka* on earth.)
8. *Pala-v-iṉ paḻam.* (P. N. 109, 5.)
   (Jack-fruit)
9. *Payattiṉōṭuñ cella.* (T. T. P. 206, 21.)
   (To go with fear.)

No doubt the nouns that end in '*a*' in Tamil are rare. The few cases where they end in '*a*' are *palla, pala, cila, uḷḷa, illa,* etc.[1] But whether the '*a*' that stood at the end of words was changed to '*u*' or '*ei*' deserves careful examination. Because Telugu and Malayāḷam have '*a*' at the end where Tamil has '*ai*' and Canarese '*e*', as is seen from the following table, he seems to conclude that '*a*' was the final sound at the end of such words in the parent Dravidian Language.

Tamil	Telugu	Malayāḷam	Canarese
kaṭai	*kaḍa*	*kaḍa*	*kaḍe*
karai	*kara*	*kara*	*kare*
kaḷai		*kaḷa*	*kaḷe*
kaṟai	*kara*	*kaṟa*	*kaṟe*

But considering the statement of Dr. Caldwell, that "Tamil being probably the earliest cultivated of all the Dravidian idioms, the most copious, and that which contains the largest portion and the richest variety of indubitably ancient forms, it is deservedly placed at the head of the list", (C. D. G. p. 6.), and considering the fact that words ending in '*ai*' are found in Tolkāppiyam (Cf. *avai-y-ivai y-eṉa varūum peyarum*...Tol. Col. 167) and that it is more natural for '*ai*' to be lightened to '*e*' (as is found even now in spoken Tamil *yāṉai* as *yāṉe, karai* as *kare,* etc.) and later to '*a*' as Tolkāppiyaṉār says that '*ai*' may be changed to '*ay*'[2], the '*y*' of which may afterwards be dropped, is it not more reasonable to assume that the parent Dravidian language had '*ai*' at the end of such words instead of '*a*'? But in the medieval period '*a*' before the palatal explosives '*c*' and '*ñ*' and semi-vowel '*y*' in the middle of words had a tendency to change to '*ai*' mostly in literary works perhaps by the influence of prosody. Cf. *araicaṉ* for *aracaṉ* in *kali-araiśaṉ* (Ep. I, Vol. XVII, Pt. VII, V. G. line 90), *maiñcu* for *mañcu, maiyal* for *mayal,* etc.[3]. Then through analogy '*ai*' was substituted for '*a*' even before non-palatal sounds. Cf. *paḻaimai, iḷaimai,* for *paḻamai* and *iḷamai* respectively. Hence Dr. Caldwell's statement that '*a*' is most liable to change may apply to a certain

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1. Cf. *Palla pala-cila v-eṉṉum peyarum*
Uḷḷa v-illa v-eṉṉum peyarum
....................(Tol. Col. 168.)
2. *Akara-t t-impar yakara-p puḷḷiyum*
Ai-y-e neṭuñ-ciṉai mey-peṟa-t tōṉṟum. (Tol. E. 56.)
3. *A ai mutal-iṭai y-okkuñ ca-ña-ya-muṉ.* (Na. 123.)

extent only in the medieval period and in the modern period. Cf. *caritai* for Skt. *carita.*

1.3413. Besides it may be interesting to note that the Tamil pronunciation of '*a*' may have influenced the South Indians to pronounce the Sanskrit '*a*' at the end of words like *paśya, vada, gaccha,* etc. as an open vowel though it is a close one according to P. A. 8.4.68 and M.B.i.15.14 and it is still pronounced in North India as such.

1.34111. '*Ā*' : 1.34111. The statement of Dr. Caldwell that '*ā*' is formed in Tamil by the coalescence of two short *a's*[1] is quite against the genius of the Tamil language. This is one of the points where Tamil differs generally from Sanskrit. If two short *a's* come together in Tamil as *pala*+*aṟam,* an intervocalic '*v*' is generally inserted between them as *palavaṟam* and they can never coalesce into '*ā*'.

1.34112. Again he says that '*ā*' becomes poetically '*ō*'.[2] This existed even in the ancient period and is supported by Tolkāppiyam[3]. But he says that *viṇṇavar* becomes *viṇṇōr.* This need not be. A personal noun *viṇṇār* may be formed by adding the plural suffix '*ār*'[4] to the noun *viṇ* and '*ō*' may be substituted for '*ā*'[5] in the same way as the final '*a*' in Sanskrit is pronounced as '*o*' by Bengalis at the present day. Cf. *villōṉ* for *villāṉ*; and *nallōr* for *nallār* in the stanza.

villōṉ kālaṉa kaḻalē...nallōr yār kol-aḻiyar tāmē. (Ku. T. 7.)

1.34113. He then says that final '*ā*' of Sanskrit feminine abstracts becomes '*ai*' in Tamil. This may be accepted as a general rule though modern writers do not strictly adhere to it.[6]

1.342. '*I*'. This is inserted when Sanskrit words having conjunct consonants, one of which is generally '*y*', '*r*' or '*l*', are Tamilised. Cf. *pattiyam, ilakkiyam, vāttiyam pattiram,*

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1. & 2. C. D. G. 133.

3. *Ā-v-ō v-ākum peyarum-ā r-uḷavē*
Ā-y-iṭa ṉ-aṟital ceyyul ḷ-uḷḷē. (Tol. Col. 195.)

4. *Ar ār pa-eṉa varūu mūṉṟum*
Pallōr maruṅkiṟ paṭarkkai-c collē. (Ibid. 206.)

5. *Pāl-aṟi marapi ṉ-ammū v-īṟṟum*
Ā-v-ō v-ākuñ ceyyu ḷ-uḷḷē. (Ibid. 211.)

6. Cf. *anukampam* for Skt. *anukampā* in '*anukampam.... uṭaiyarē ciṟantār.* (Civa. pala. 39.)

(Great are they who have compassion.)

cukkilam for Skt. *pathya, lakṣya, vādya, patra* and *śukla*[1]. In ancient period this is substituted for a final '*y*'. Cf. *nāi* (நாஇ) for *nāy*[2].

1.3421. '*Ī*'. The final '*ī*' in *nī* is shortened when case-suffixes are added to it[3].

1.343. '*U*'. Dr. Caldwell says that "*u* is of all vowels the weakest and lightest and is largely used especially at the end of words for euphonic purposes or as a help to enunciation. The Tamil rule with regard to the addition of '*u*' to words which end in a consonant is that in words which end in any hard or surd consonant, viz., *k, ch, ṭ, t* or *p*, or in the hard rough *ṟ* which is peculiar to these languages, the hard consonant shall be followed by '*u*' in consequence of its being impossible for Tamilian organs of speech to pronounce those letters without the help of a succeeding vowel. In most instances this enunciative '*u*' is not merely short but so very short that its quantity is determined by grammarians to be equal only to a fourth of the quantity of a long vowel.... It often happens (though it is not an invariable rule) that the final surd to which enunciative '*u*' has been appended, is doubled apparently for the purpose of furnishing a fulcrum for the support of the appended vowel. Thus the Sanskrit *vāk* becomes *vākku*. The rule is further extended in Tamil so as to apply to the final consonants of syllables as well as to those of words. If a syllable, though in the middle of a word, terminates in one of the hard consonants above mentioned and if the initial consonant of the succeeding syllable is one which cannot be assimilated to it, the final consonant is doubled and '*u*' is affixed. Thus Skt. *advaita* becomes in Tamil *attuvaida*".

Here three points are to be noted:—(1) The rule stated above holds good only in the case of *tadbhava* words (*i.e.*) words tamilised from Sanskrit; for no pure Tamil word can have according to the Tamil grammarians, *k, c, ṭ, t, p* or *ṟ* as the final

1. *Kūṭṭeḻuttiṉ-piṉ ya-ra-la-k-kaṭōṉṟiṭiṟ kūṭṭiṭaiyē Ōṭṭeḻuttāka-p peṟum-or-ikāram*....(V. Tat. 8.)
2. *Ikara yakara m-iṟuti viravum.* (Tol. E. 58.)
3. *Nī-y-e ṉ-oru-peyar neṭu-mutal kuṟukum Āvayi ṉ-akara m-oṟṟā kum-m-ē.* (Ibid. 180.)

member[1]. (2) The '*u*' that is added at the end of such words have, in the opinion of the Tamil grammarians, for their quantity one *mātrā*[2] and not half a *mātrā* as stated by Dr. Caldwell ; for, this '*u*' does not play the same part in sandhi as '*u̇*' (*kur̲r̲iyal-ukaram*) at the end of pure Tamil words:—*vākku* (*tadbhava* of *vāk*) + *iṅkē* becomes *vākku-v-iṅkē ;* while *nākku̇* (pure Tamil word) + *iṅkē* becomes *nākkiṅkē,* the intervocalic '*v*' being inserted in the former case and '*u̇*' being dropped in the latter case[3]. (3) The addition of '*u*' at the end of a syllable under the conditions stated above has certain limitations. It cannot hold good where there are two or more conjunct consonants. For instance, the Sanskrit word *plutākṣara* is tamilised into into *pulutākkaram* and not *pulutākkuṣaram.* Hence the same law may be modified thus :—wherever in the middle of a word two or more conjunct consonants which can not be assimilated to each other appear, the intervocalic '*i*' (*vyakta* into *viyattam*) or '*u*' (*pluta* into *pulutam*) is inserted since the genius of the Tamil language is to minimise the conjunct consonant. '*U*' alone is not inserted, but '*i*' also is inserted; this is generally determined by the consonants that precede and those that follow. This point is clearly stated in Vīracōḻiyam and Nan̲n̲ūl, the grammars of the medieval period[4]. Vīracōḻiyam speaks of the

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1. *Na-ṇa-na-ma n̲a-ya-ra la va-ḻa-ḷa- v-en̲n̲um*
Ap-pati n̲-on̲r̲ē puḷḷi y-ir̲uti. (Ibid. 78.)

2. *Ētu, tātu en̲n̲um vaṭa-moḻi-y-ir̲uti-y-ukaramum....kur̲uki-y-icaittal-vēṇṭum....aṅṅan̲am icaiyāmaiyin̲....kur̲r̲iyal-ukaram tamiḻ-c-cir̲appeḻuttākalin̲ vaṭamoḻiyin̲ vārātāyir̲r̲u̇.* (T. M. V. 28.)

3. But it must be noted that the final '*u*', whether at the end of pure Tamil words or *tadbhava* words or *tatsama* words, is now pronounced as if its 'u̇', though grammars sanction it only in certain cases. This is a clear case where *false analogy* has played its part to the full ; for instance, the final '*u*' in '*itu*' must have one mātrā and must be pronounced as '*u*', but it is now pronounced as 'u̇' though it is quite against the rules of grammar.

4. *Kūṭṭeḻuttin̲-pin ya-ra-la-k-kaṭōn̲r̲iṭir̲ kūṭṭiṭaiyē*
Ōṭṭeḻuttāka-p per̲um-or-ikāram va-v-vu-k-k-or-u-v-v-ām
Mīṭṭeḻuttu-t-tami ḻ-allan̲a-pōm-vēr̲u tēya-c-collin̲
Māṭṭeḻuttum-m-ita n̲āl-ar̲i-mar̲r̲ai vikārattin̲ē. (V. Tat. 8.)
Iṇaintiyal kālai ya-ra-la-k k-ikaram-um
Ma v-va-k k-ukaram-um nakara-k k-akaram-um
Micai-varum ra-v-vaḻi y-u-v-vu m-ām pir̲a. (Na. 149.)

insertion of '*i*' and '*u*', while Nannūl speaks of that of '*a*' also as in *arataṉam*, the *tadbhava* of Sanskrit *ratna*[1], which is seen in the following sentence,

'*arataṉak kalaca viyaṉ karam*' (T. P. kaṭavuḷ, 3)

(Big hand holding a pot made of gems.)

1.3431. '*Ū*'. *Ū*, as Dr. Caldwell says, is sufficiently persistent.

1.344. '*E*' & '*O*'. These two sounds, Dr. Caldwell says, are not found in Sanskrit. His statement is almost true; but Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya says that '*e*' and '*o*' are not generally found in Sanskrit, but find a place in the Sātyamugri and Rāṇāyanīya Śākhās of the Sāma Vēda[2]. The same point is noted in Tolkāppiya-mutar-cūttira-virutti[3].

M. J. Vinson says that '*e*' and '*o*' are always preceded by '*y*' & '*w*' respectively. This is true in the Tamil districts of India; but in Jaffna, I hear that it is not so[4].

1.345. '*Ē*' and '*Ō*'. Dr. Caldwell seems to think like the Tamil grammarians of the modern period that these two sounds are the same as are found in Sanskrit. The author of Pirayōka-vivēkam says in his commentary under the 5th sūtra '*akara v-ikaram-ē kāram-ākum*' (*a* and *i* become *ē*) and '*akara v-ukaram-ōkāram-ākum*' (*a* and *u* become *ō*) and calls them *canti-y-akkaram*. Civañāṉa-muṉivar also says so.[5] But it seems to me that they are entirely different; for the Sanskrit '*ē*' and '*ō*' are diphthongs in their origin wherever they represent the Indo-Germanic tauto-syllabic *ai*, *ei* and *oi*, and tauto-syllabic *au*, *eu* and *ou*, respectively. They are still remembered as such in Prātiśākhyas

1. This insertion of a vowel at the beginning is called *prothetic anaptyxis* and the same in the middle is called *medial anaptyxis*. This plays a large part in the Indian Prākṛts. Cf. *ittiyā* for *strī* and *paduma* for *padma*.

2. *Chandōgānām sātyamugri rāṇāyanīyāḥ ardhamēkāram ardhamōkārañ cādhyīyatē; naiva hi lokē nānyasmin vēdē ardha ēkārarōrdha-ōkārō vāsti* (M. B. i. 22, lines 21, 23 & 24).

3. *Ekara okaraṅkaḷ....cāmavētam-uṭaiyāruḷ oru-c-cārār icai parri-k kuḷūu-k-kurıpōla k koṇṭōtupa-v-ākalāṉum* (T. M. V. 26).

4. A temporary fact of Phonetics in Dravidian, Dixieme Serie tome 18, 1911....(J. A.)

5. *Ekaram-āvatu akarakkūṟum-ikarakkūṟum....tammuḷ-otticaittu naramataṅkal-pōnṟākalāṉum....ivvāṟātal-parri ē, ō, ai, au eṉṉu nāṉkiṉaiyum vaṭanūlār cantiyakkaram-eṉpar.* (T. M. V. 24.)

(R. V. P. i, 11: and A. V. P. iii, 40), and by the Sanskrit Grammarians Pāṇini, Patañjali and others. Cf. *ēcaḥ sandhyakṣarāṇi.* For grammatical purposes too, they are such when *a* and *i* coalesce into '*ē*', and *a* and *u* coalesce into '*ō*' and wherever they are respectively split into *ay* and *av* in sandhi as in *dēvē* + *iha* and *gurō* + *iha* which respectively become *dēvayiha* and *guraviha.* But they are not diphthongs wherever they represent the Indo-Germanic *az.* In pronunciation, they became simple long vowels even in the *Saṁhitā* period. This is seen from the fact that, in sandhi if the initial member of the succeeding word is '*a*' and the final member of the preceding word is '*ē*' or '*ō*', the '*a*' is elided.[1] (cf. *harē* + *atra* = *harētra*: *gurō* + *atra* = *gurōtra*) Cf. *lupyatē tu akāra-ēkāraukārapūrvaḥ* (Tai. P. xi, 1): *ēkāra-ukārāntāt pūrvaḥ padādērakārasya* (A. V. P. iii, 53). For grammatical purposes it is more an exception that they are simple long vowels rather than a general rule. But in Tamil they are always simple sounds as in the parent Indo-European language, and not diphthongs; for *a* + *i* becomes *a-v-i* or *ā* + *i* becomes *ā-y-i* as in *a-v-v-iṭam* and *ā-y-irutiṇai,* and so also *a* + *u* becomes *a-v-u* as in *pala-v-uṇṭu.* This difference in their nature is one of the points which determine that Tamil is independent of Sanskrit.

M. J. Vinson is of opinion that these two also are preceded by '*y*' and '*w*' in their pronunciation. But I hear that such is not the case in Jaffna.

1.346. '*AI*': 1.3461. Dr. Caldwell says in p. 133 that "*ei* unlike the Sanskrit diphthong '*ai*' represents *e* and *i* and not *a* and *i*." The reasons he adduces for the same are (1) 'it is represented in Grantha and Malayāḷam by a double *e* and in Telugu-Canarese by a character which is compounded of *e* and *i;* (2) it is also to be observed that the Tamil *ei* is the equivalent of the *e* of the Malayāḷam accusative and is the ordinary representative of the final *e* of Canarese substantives and verbal nouns; (3) it is worthy of notice also that Kumārilabhaṭṭa in transliterating Tamil *naḍei* into Sanskrit characters writes it not as *naḍai,* but as *naḍe.*'

If the first reason holds good for Tamil '*ei*', it holds good for Sanskrit '* āi*' also, since it is represented in Devanāgarī script as two *e*'s (ऐ); it is not safe to determine the nature of a sound

1. Cf. M. V. G. p. 4 Para 6 and p. 15 Para 2.

from its symbol.[1] The second point has already been answered under 1.3412. As regards the third point, Kumārilabhaṭṭa may have had in his mind the forms of spoken Tamil but not of written Tamil for he says *cōr* for *cōṟŭ*.[2] The '*u*' at the end is only '*ŭ*' and so people may have pronounced *cōṟŭ* as almost similiar to *cōṟ*. I have already stated that the final '*u*' or '*ŭ*' is spoken only as '*ŭ*'. Similarly *naḍai* also may have been pronounced as *naḍe*, as is done even now. Hence Dr. Caldwell's third reason also cannot stand. Besides, Tolkāppiyaṉār clearly says that *ai* my be split into *a* and *i* [3] ; and *ay* may be used instead of *ai* [4]. It also appears to me that the way in which Tamil *ai* was, and is, pronounced may have influenced the pronunciation of Sanskrit *ai* in the pre-Christian Era; for, in the earliest times, it is possible that the latter was pronouced as *āi* since it represented generally the Indo-Germanic *āi*, *ēi* and *ōi*. At the time of the author of Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya, it appears it was pronounced as *a* (½) *i* (1½) where *a* had half a *mātrā* and *i* one and a half *mātrās*.

Cf. *Akārārdham āikārāukārayōḥ ādiḥ*

and

Ikārō adyardhaḥ pūrvasya śēṣaḥ. (Tai. P. ii, 26 and 28.)

The same, it seems to me, was the pronunciation at the time of Patañjali.

Cf. *Aicōśca uttarabhūyastvāt*. (M. B. i, 22, 18.)

It has been accepted that Patañjali lived in the 2nd century before Christ. The Tamil extant Grammar Tolkāppiyam may be taken to belong at least to the beginning of the Christian era, and there is no inscription or literary work in Telugu, Kanarese and Malayāḷam belonging to that date. It is evident that, at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār, *ai* in Tamil was pronounced in the same way as it is now, since he says *ai* may sometimes be written as *ai* (அஇ) or *ay* (அய்). Hence I am led to believe that the present

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1. The symbols in Telugu for *v*, *p*, *s*, *n* and *h* have greater similarity than dissimilarity and it is not safe to conclude from it that they are related sounds.

2. *Cōr ityuktā* (K. T. V. under 1—3—9 and pp. 200 and 201 in Vol. 42 of the Indian Antiquary).

3. *Akara ikara m-aikāra m-ākum*. (Tol. E. 54.)

4. *Akara-t t-impar yakara-p puḷḷiyum*
Ai-y-e neṭuñ-ciṉai mey-peṟa-t tōṉṟum. (Ibid. 56.)

pronunciation of Sanskrit *ai* might be due to the influence of Dravidian languages, especially Tamil.[1]

1.3462. This *ai* is different from Sanskrit *ai* in two ways. Sanskrit *ai* is, for grammatical purposes, *āi*, and it is formed by the coalescence of *a* or *ā* with *ē*; but, in Tamil, if *a* or *ā* is followed by *ē*, both would respectively become '*avē*' generally and *āvē* or *āyē*, but never '*ai*'. Hence, this cannot be said to be a diphthong in the same way as the Sanskrit *āi*; but it may be called so since it is split into *a* and *i*, or *a* and *y*, if it stands at the beginning of a word. Cf. *aivaṉam* அஇவனம் or *ayvaṉam* for *aivaṉam* (ஐவனம்).

1.347. '*AU*'. Dr. Caldwell states that 'it has been placed in the (Dravidian) alphabets solely in imitation of Sanskrit. It is used only in the pronunciation of Sanskrit derivatives; and when such derivatives are used in Tamil, they are more commonly pronounced without the aid of this diphthong. Ordinarily, the diphthong is separated into its component elements; that is, the simple vowels *a* and *u*, from which it is derived, are pronounced separately, with the usual euphonic *v* of the Tamil between them to prevent hiatus.—*e.g.* the Sanskrit noun *saukhyam* is ordinarily pronounced and written in Tamil as *śavukkiyam*." (C. D. G. 136.) The same opinion is held by M. J. Vinson[2] and G. U. Pope.[3] Their whole argument stands on the assumption that it is used only in the pronunciation of Sanskrit derivatives. But there are words like *auvai*, *pauvam*, *kauvutal*, *vauvutal*, etc. which are pure Tamil words. In such cases *au* is replaced by *av* as *avvai*, *pavvam*, *kavvutal*, *vavvutal*, etc. and not by *avu* as in *śavukkiyam* as stated by Dr. Caldwell. Cf. *nāy kauvi* (N. 70.) *kavviyum* (P. N. 188. 4). Besides, Tolkāppiyaṉār

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1. When Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya says that *ai* was *a* (½) *i* (1½) it refers in all probability *to its pronunciation*. Śukla Yajurvēda Prātiśākhya says that the first part of *ai* and *au* is *a* and the second part *ē* and *ō*. This evidently refers *to the etymology* of the same. Ṛg-vēda Prātiśākhya and Atharva-vēda Prātiśākhya do not seem to say anything definitely on this point. But Dr. A. A. MacDonell says that *ai* and *au* were pronounced as *ai* and *au* even at the time of Prātiśākhyas. (M. V. G. 15. 4.) I am not able to find out why he has said so.

2. Sur un caractere singulier dans l' alphabet Tamoul in J. A. Onzieme Serie tome vii, 1916, p. 313, 4.

3. P. H. T. L. p. 13.

says that the initial *au* of a word may be split into *a* and *u*[1] and Iḷampūraṇar says under Tol. E. 56 that it may be replaced by *av* as *ai* is replaced by *ay*. But Sanskrit *āu* though it was pronounced even at an early period as *au*[2] is for grammatical purposes only *āu* and can be replaced by only *āv* and not *av*. It also seems to me that the Tamil pronunciation of *au* may have changed the pronunciation of Sanskrit *āu* as in the case of *āi*; since the Sanskrit *āu* ought to have been once pronounced as *āu* and then as *a* (½) *u* (1½) at least till the time of Mahābhāṣya.

1.348. '*i̇*'. This sound is peculiar to Tamil. It is found in the middle of words like *kēṇmiyā*,[3] and in places where the final '*u̇*' of a word is followed by '*y*'[4] as in *nākŭ*+*yātŭ*=*nāki̇yātŭ*.

What could be its origin? This may have been originally in the parent Dravidian language a glide almost similar to '*ŭ*', and it may have been represented by '*i̇*' whenever it was followed by the palatal semi-vowel *y*. Hence the Tamil grammarians have stated that *ŭ* changes to *i̇* when the former is followed by *y* in sandhi.

1.3481. '*u̇*': 1.34811. It has already been stated that this differs from *u* both in quality and quantity and also undergoes change in sandhi quite differently from it. This is not found in Sanskrit, but it plays a large part in Tamil and so Tolkāppiyam contains one full chapter explaining the changes which it undergoes in sandhi. It is used as the final member of words except in the word *nuntai*[5] after a voiceless consonant in words other than those which have only one short vowel which is not followed by a conjunct consonant or āytam.[6] Thus in *atu*, *itu*, *utu*, *u* is not *kurriyal-ukaram*; but in *aṅkŭ*, *aḵtŭ*, *aḷapŭ*, *yātŭ*, it is *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram*. *U* in *ēḻu*, the modern form of ancient *ēḻ* cannot

1. *Akara ukara m-aukāra m-ākum.* (Tol. E. 55.)
2. M. V. G. 13, 3.
3. *Kuṟṟiya likara niṟṟal vēṇṭum*
Yāreṉ ciṉai-micai uraiyacai-k kiḷavi-k-
Kūvayiṉ varūum makara m-ūrntē. (Tol. E. 34.)
4. *Puṇariya nilai-y-iṭai-k kuṟukalu m-urittē*
Uṇara-k kūriṉ muṉṉar-t tōṉṟum. (Ibid. 35.)
5. *Kuṟṟiya l-ukara muṟai-p-peyar maruṅkiṉ*
Oṟṟiya nakara-micai nakaramoṭu mutalum. (Ibid. 67.)
6. *Neṭṭeḻut t-imparum toṭarmoḻi y-īṟṟum*
Kuṟṟiya l-ukaram vallā ṟūrntē. (Ibid. 36.)

be *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram* according to its definition in grammar, though it is pronounced so now. I have already stated that it has for its organ of articulation that of the previous voiceless consonant.[1] (Cf. 1.22. *supra*)

What could be its origin? Was it formerly *u* and was then shortened on account of accent or was it a vowel glide like the neutral vowel which appeared in pronouncing the final voiceless consonants and later on taken as a secondary sound? If it were the former, it need not play in sandhi a part different from *u*. I have already stated that it (*ŭ*) is dropped if it is followed by a word commencing with a vowel, while *u* takes the intervocalic *v* when it is followed by a vowel. cf. *nākku + iṅkē = nākkiṅkē; atu + iṅkē = atuviṅkē.* Hence the latter view that it was in the parent Dravidian a vowel glide is worth considering. If that be so, we have to assume that the Tamil grammarians happened to recognise the glide, take it as a secondary sound and conclude that no voiceless consonant could be the final member of any word.[2]

1.3482. *UYIR-AḶAPEṬAI*: 1.34821. The authors of Vīracōḻiyam, Nēminātam, Naṉṉūl, Ilakkaṇa-viḷakkam and Pirayōka-vivēkam state that the seven sounds, *āa, īi, ūu, ēe, aii, ōo, auu* are *uyir-aḷapeṭai* each having three *mātrās* and have taken them as secondary vowels.

But Tolkāppiyaṉār has not mentioned them under secondary sounds; for it seems to me that in cases of *aḷapeṭai*, *āa, īi*, etc. are not *single* sounds according to him, but two sounds made up of *ā* and *a*, *ī* and *i*, etc. This is clear from the following points mentioned by him. He states in the sūtra

Mū-v-aḷa p-icaitta l-ōr-eḻut t-iṉṟē. (Tol. E. 5.)

that there is no *single* sound having *three mātrās;* in the sūtra

Nīṭṭam vēṇṭi ṉ-a-v-v-aḷa p-uṭaiya
Kūṭṭi y-eḻūuta l-eṉmaṉār pulavar. (ibid. 6.)

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1. *Cārntu-vari ṉ-allatu tamakk-iyal p-ila-v-eṉa-t*
Tērntu-veḷip paṭutta v-ēṉai mūṉṟum
Tattañ cārpiṟ piṟappoṭu civaṇi
Otta kāṭciyiṟ ṟam-m-iyal p-iyalum. (Ibid. 101.)

2. Here it is worth noting that the vowel-glide *i* between *d* & *r* in the Sanskrit word *Indra* has appeared as a separate letter in the word *Indira* derived from the same. Similarly, the second *a* in the word *manōratha* which originally was *manōrtha.* (Wackernagel's Altindisch Grammatik.)

he says that, if the quantity of a sound is to be lengthened, separate sounds having the desired additional quantity should be added. In the sūtra

Kuṉṟicai moḻi-vayi ṉ-iṉṟicai niṟaikkum
Neṭṭeḻut t-impa r-otta-kuṟ ṟeḻuttē. (ibid. 41.)

it is said that as many short like-vowels are added after a long vowel as the additional *mātrās* needed. In the sūtra

E-ṉa varum-uyir meyyī ṟ-ākātu. (ibid. 71.)

it is said that *e* cannot be the final letter of a word if it is preceded by a consonant and in the sūtra

Ekara v-okaram peyarkkī ṟ-ākā
Muṉṉilai moḻiya v-eṉmaṉār pulavar
Tēṟṟamuñ ciṟappu m-alvaḻi y-āṉa. (ibid. 273.)

it is said that it follows *ē* denoting certainty or superiority. Hence in *ēe koṇṭāṉ*, *e* is taken to be a sound separate from *ē*. In the sūtra

Tēṟṟa v-ekaramuñ ciṟappi ṉ-ovvum
Mēṟ-kū ṟ-iyaṟkai valleḻuttu mikumē. (ibid. 274.)

he says '*tēṟṟa v-ekaramum*' which clearly shows that *ē* and *e* in *ēe* are considered separate sounds. In the sūtra

Ē-y-e ṉ-iṟuti-k k-ekaram varumē. (ibid. 278.)

he says that *e* will follow *ē*. That the same is the case with *o* in *ōo* is inferred from the sūtras Tol. E. 273 and

Vēṟṟumai-k kaṇṇu m-alaṉō r-aṟṟē
Okaram varula l-ā-vayi ṉ-āṉa. (ibid. 293.)

In the sūtra

Kuṟiyalaṉ muṉṉaru m-ōreḻuttu moḻikkum
Aṟiya-t tōṉṟu m-akara-k kiḷavi. (ibid. 227.)

it is said that *a* is inserted after *ā*, the final member of the standing word, if it is preceded by a short vowel as *palā-a-k-kōṭu* or if it happens to be a single lettered word.[1] In the sūtra,

Aḷapeḍai mikūu m-ikara-v-iṟupeyar
Iyaṟkaiya v-ākuñ-ceyaṟkaiya v-eṉpa.
(Tol. Col. 125.)

he says that the word ending in *i* which generally appears with *aḷapeḍai* in the nominative case remains as it is without any change in the vocative case. For instance, the word

1. It may be noted that the author of Pirayōka-vivēkam says that in *marāaṭi*, *paṇāaṭṭu*, *a* is separate from *ā* and an intervocalic is not inserted between them. (P. V. P. 49.)

tolli can be used in the same form as nominative or vocative. Here he states that the final member of such words is *i* and not *ii*. Besides in Ceyyuḷ-iyal, a section in the third chapter of Tolkāppiyam, he says that *aḷapeṭai* may be taken as a separate syllable in prosody[1]. For example in *paṇiyār tēem* (Pattu. 220, 230) *tē* is taken as one *acai* and *em* as another, though *e* is added to prolong the quantity of *ē*.[2] Similarly in *kaṭāak kaḻiṟṟiṉmēl* (K. 1087) *kaṭā* is taken as one *acai* and *ak* as another.[3]

The reason why he does not treat *āa*, *ii*, etc. in cases of *aḷapeṭai* as single sounds seems to me this. In Manusmṛti there is a line

Akāraścāsya nāmnōntē vācyaḥ pūrvākṣaraḥ plutaḥ
(M. S. 2. 125.)

in connection with the use of *pluta* in *pratyabhi-vādana*. This is interpreted by some commentators that *a* is only *upalakṣaṇam* here and it means that the final syllable of the name of the person who prostrates himself before another should be *pluta* in the blessings offered by the latter, in the same way as is said by Pāṇini; (*i.e.*) if Dēvadatta is a *dvija* and prostrates himself before another, another should say '*āyuṣmān bhava Dēvadatta3*'; if he is *Hari*, '*āyuṣmān bhava Hare3*' etc. But Haradatta, the author of Padamañjarī, a commentary on Kāśikāvṛtti, interprets the same line in a different way. The final syllable should be *pluta* and an '*a*' should be added to it at the end. Hence the *pratyabhi-vādana* should be in the form '*āyuṣmān bhava Dēvadatta3 a.*' Similarly if two persons *Śambhu* and *Pinākapāṇi* are at a distance and they are called, the forms that should be used in the vocative case are *Śambho3* and *Pinākapāṇe3* in the opinion of Pāṇini and *Śambho3 a*, and *Pinākapāṇe3 a*, in the opinion of Haradatta. Similarly if they are not at a distance, the forms that should be used are *Śambha3 u* and *Pinākapāṇa3 i* according to Pāṇini, and *Śambha3 va* and *Pinākapāṇa3 ya* according to Haradatta[4]. The latter says that his interpretation is based on what is said in Bharataśāstra.[5]

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1. *Aḷapeṭai-y-acai-nilai-y-ākalu-m-uritte.* (Tol. Ceyyu. 17.)

2 & 3. These are cases of hiatus allowed by Tolkāppiyaṉār.

4. Pandit Reprint 12. Kāśikā vyākhyā uttarārdha p. 960 and P. A. 8. 2. 83, 8. 2. 84 and 8. 3. 107.

5. I searched for this statement in the extant editions of Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra, but I was not able to find it out.

From this it is evident that there were two schools as regards the use of *pluta*. Tolkāppiyaṉār having in his mind the view of the author of Bharataśāstra may have thought that, since a separate syllable *a* is used by him in all places, there is no need for the previous sound to be *pluta*, and hence may have said that there is no need for a sound *a3* having three *mātrās* before the final *a*. Besides to have *a* even after *i3*, *e3*, *o3* may not have appealed to him. Hence he may have thought that, if one wants to use similar sounds, one might as well use *ī*, *ū*, *ē* and *ō* with *i*, *u*, *e* and *o* following them. This is most probably the reason for his saying that there is no *single* sound *having three mātrās* (Tol. E. 5). Hence, according to him, *aḷapeṭai* is that sound *a*, *i*, *u*, etc. which is super-added to the preceding long vowel *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, etc. It may be worth noting that the term *aḷapeṭai* is adapted from the term *pluta* though in a somewhat different sense.

But the author of Vīracōḻiyam in the light of what is said in Pāṇini's grammar may have mistaken *aḷapeṭai* for *pluta* in Sanskrit and hence has stated that *āa*, *īi*, etc. are *aḷapeṭai* and the others may have followed him. They have taken them as secondary sounds, since according to them secondary sounds are those which are other than primary sounds and no primary sound has more than two *mātrās* for its quantity. If *aḷapeṭai*, according to them, has three *mātrās*, they should have given separate names for *āaa*, *āaaa* and so on. But they have not done so. Perhaps they too may be called *aḷapeṭai* in the same way as a sound of four *mātrās* in Sanskrit is called *pluta*[1]. The authors of Nemināthan, Naṉṉūl, Ilakkaṇa-viḷakkam and Toṉṉūl-viḷakkam have followed the author of Vīracōḻiyam *in toto* in this point; but the authors of Naṉṉūl and Ilakkaṇa-viḷakkam, when they make mention of the vowels that can stand finally in words, say that the short vowels can stand finally even when they are part of *aḷapeṭai*.[2] This is not consistent with their statement that *aḷapeṭai* has three *mātrās*. Hence it seems to me that they two did not have a decisive idea about it.

Uraiyāciriyar and Naccinārkkiniyar in commenting on the sūtra

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1. *Īṣvata ēva catur mātraḥ plutaḥ* (M. B. iii. 421, 13 & 14.)
2. *Kurruyi r-aḷapi n-īrā m-ekaram*
Meyyō ṭeḷa ton na-v-vo-ṭām-au
Kakara vakaramō ṭāku m-eṉpa. (Na. 108 & I. V. 29.)

Nīṭṭam vēṇṭi ṉ-a-v-v-aḷa-p uṭaiya
Kūṭṭi-y-eḻūuta l-eṉmaṉār pulavar. (Tol. E. 6.)

say that the long and the short vowel should be pronounced together. Hence it appears that, in their opinion, *āa*, *ii*, etc., are pronounced as vowels having three *mātrās*, but for grammatical purposes they are separate sounds. Civañāṉa-muṉivar, on the other hand, says that *aḷapeṭai eḻuttu* has three *mātrās*[1] and it is made up of one long vowel and one short vowel and since it is used in the place of the long vowel only for lengthening its *mātrā* without any change in meaning, it is not included as a separate sound, and hence it is not included among vowels.[2] On considering the sūtras in Tolkāppiyam mentioned above, it may be clear that Civañāṉa-muṉivar confounds the *pluta* in Sanskrit with *aḷapeṭai*. But in the definition of *cārpeḻuttu* or secondary sounds he agrees with Tolkāppiyaṉār and hence he has not included *aḷapeṭai* among them.

The number of *uyir-aḷapeṭai* is 7 according to the grammarians of the medieval and modern periods except Naṉṉūlār. He says that they are 21 taking into consideration the place in a word where it occurs, whether at the beginning, middle or end. But since the sound is generally the same whether it is at the beginning, middle or end, it does not appear to be scientific to further sub-divide 7 and make them into 21.

1.3483.—'*Shortened ai*': *Ancient Period*. Tolkāppiyaṉār mentions that '*ai*' has in certain positions only one *mātrā*,[3] but does not say where it so happens, nor does he include such '*ai*' among secondary sounds, since it has the same place of articulation as '*ai*' though reduced in quantity, and it may sometimes be used as the initial letter of a word as *aiyam* and hence does not satisfy this definition of *cārpeḻuttu* or secondary sounds.

Medieval and Modern Periods. The author of Vīracōḻiyam says that the shortened *ai*, has for its quantity one *mātrā* and a half. The author of Nēminātam agrees with him and includes it among secondary sounds. The authors of Naṉṉūl, Ilakkaṇa-

1. *Mūṉṟu māttiraiyāy uccarikkuṅkāl aḷapeṭai y-eḻutteṉṟum* (T. M. V. p. 24.)

2. *Aḷapeṭai annetteḻuttōṭu*....(p. 24, Line 3.) *nuṉṉṉṉarvāṉōrntu-ṉarka* (T. M. V. *p.* 24).

3. *Ōraḷa pāku m-iṭaṉum-ā r-uṇṭē*
Tēruṅ kālai moḻi-vayi ṉ-āṉa. (Tol. E. 57.)

viḷakkam and Toṉṉūl-viḷakkam say that it has only one *mātrā* for its quantity. C. J. Beschi says that it is shortened in such words as *aippaci* where it is the initial letter, in words like *maṭaiyaṉ* where it is medial and in words like *kuvaḷai* where it is final. All of them include it among secondary sounds since it is other than '*ai*' having two *mātras* and hence satisfies their definition of *cārpeḻuttu*. The division by Naṉṉūlār of 'shortened *ai*' into three according to its place in a word is unnecessary and unscientific. Civañāṉa-muṉivar agrees with Tolkāppiyaṉār.

Since no purpose is served by taking 'shortened *ai*' as a secondary sound, the opinion of Tolkāppiyaṉār seems to me to be the sound one.

1.3484. *'Shortened au': Ancient Period:* Tolkāppiyaṉār does not speak definitely about this; but the commentators on the sūtra

Ōr-aḷa p-ākum-iṭaṉ-um-ā r-uṇṭē
Tēruṅ kālai moḻi-vayi ṉ-āṉa. (Tol. E. 57.)

say that what holds good for '*ai*' holds good for '*au*' also.

Medieval and Modern Periods: The 'shortened *au*' is considered in the same way, as 'shortened *ai*.' Vīracōḻiyam says that it has one and a half *mātras* while the rest, one *mātrā*. Whatever is said of '*ai*' holds good of '*au*' also. C. J. Beschi says that *au* is shortened to *au* only when it stands initially. Dr. Caldwell does not make mention of the shortened *au*.

1.35. *Vowel Gradation.* This plays only a very small part in Tamil. In the declension of pronouns like *nī*, *nām*, *tāṉ*, the ī and the ā are shortened in the oblique cases as *niṉṉai*, *niṉṉāl*, etc., *nammai*, *nammāl*, etc., *taṉṉai*, *taṉṉāl*, etc., and *yā* in the pronoun *yāṉ* is shortened to *e* in the oblique cases as *eṉṉai*, *eṉṉāl*, etc. But on the whole its part in the Tamil language is very small since the cases and the conjugation in Tamil are not classified as strong and weak, except that the nominative case may be considered strong and the remaining weak.

In some of the verbal forms of monosyllabic roots having *ā*, *ā* is shortened to *a*.

Root.	Present Tense.	Past Tense.	Future.	Past Relative Participle.
tā	*tarukiṟāṉ*	*tantāṉ*	*taruvāṉ*	*tanta*
kāṇ	*kāṇkiṟāṉ*	*kaṇṭāṉ*	*kāṇpāṉ*	*kaṇṭa*
cā	*cākiṟāṉ*	*cettāṉ*	*cāvāṉ*	*cetta*

Sometimes the negative forms of verbs have long vowels, while the positive forms short ones.

Root.	Affirmative.	Negative.
kāṇ	*kaṇṭāṉ*	*kāṇāṉ*
vā	*varuvāṉ*	*vārāṉ*
tā	*taruvāṉ*	*tārāṉ*

In forming nouns from certain verbs, the short vowels are lengthened.

Root.	Noun.
viṭu	*vīṭū*
keṭu	*kēṭū*
paṭu	*pāṭū*
miṉ	*mīṉ*
cuṭu	*cūṭū*

This is one of the most important points where Tamil differs from Indo-European languages in general and Sanskrit in particular where gradation plays a very prominent part.

13.6. *Initial and final vowels in words in Tamil and in Sanskrit; Their Similarities and Dissimilarities:* Tolkāppiyaṉār says that all the 12 primary vowels can stand both as the initial and the final member of words, but the final *au* can be preceded only by *k* or *v*, the final *e* cannot be preceded by any consonant, the final *o* by any consonant except *n*, the final *ē* and *ō* by *ñ* and *u* and *ū* by *n* or *v*.[1] Of the secondary vowels *ū* cannot stand at the beginning, while shortened *i* can stand neither at the beginning nor at the end. The author of Vīracōḻiyam differs from Tolkāppiyaṉār in the fact that *e* and *o* cannot stand as final members. This is possibly due to the fact that, according to the latter, *e* in *ēe* (a particle denoting certainty) is not a part of it in the same way as is taken by the former and the word '*no*' might have become obsolete in his time.[2].

1. *Paṉṉī r-uyiru moḻi-muta l-ākum.* (Ibid. 59.)
Uyir-au v-eñciya v-iṟuti y-ākum. (Ibid. 69.)
Ka-va-v-ō ṭiyaiyi n-au-v-u m-ākum. (Ibid. 70.)
E-ena varum-nyir mey-y-ī ṟ-ākātu. (Ibid. 71.)
O-v-v-u m-aṟṟē na-v-v-alaṅ kaṭaiyē. (Ibid. 72.)
Ē ō enum-uyir ñakāra-t-t-illai. (Ibid. 73.)
Ū ū kāra na-va-v-oṭu navilā. (Ibid. 74.)

2. *Īṟu-makara ṇakaraṅkaṭāmu m-iṭai-y-inattil*
Ērum-vakara m-oḻintaintum-īrain teḻil-uyirum

But Naṉṉūlār and other grammarians agree with Tolkāppiaṉār in this respect.[1] According to them *aḷapeṭai* and 'shortened *ai*' can stand both at the beginning and at the end, 'shortened *au*' only at the beginning, *u* cannot stand at the beginning and *ī* cannot stand either at the beginning or at the end.

The Ṛg-vēda Prātiśākhya, the Śukla Yajur-vēda Prātiśākhya and Atharva-vēda Prātiśākhya say that *ḷ* (ऌ) cannot stand as final.[2] The Ṛg-vēda Prātiśākhya adds *ṛ* also in the 1st verse of the 12th chapter.[3] The Śukla Yajur-vēda Prātiśākhya adds that *ṛ* can stand as final only in the first members of compounds.[4] It seems to me that in mentioning the initial and the final vowels in words, Tolkāppiyaṉār has followed the Prātiśākhyas since Pāṇini considered it unnecessary to mention them.

Vīṟumali-vēṅ kaṭaṅ-kumari-k-kiṭai mēviṟṟeṉṟù
Kūṟun-tamiḻinuk k-īṟṟeḻuttām-eṉpar kōl-vaḷaiyē- (V. C. 8.)

1. *Āvi ña-ṇa-na-ma-na ya-ra-la-va ḻa-ḷa-mey*
Cāyu m-ukara nāl-āṟu m-īṟē. (Na. 107).

2. *Nalkāraḥ svarēsu.* (R. V. P. 1. 9.)
Svarāśca ḷkāravarjam. (S. Y. V. P.1. 87.)
Anḷkāraḥ svaraḥ payaḥ (A. V. P. 1. 4.)

3. *Nāntam yānti....ṛkāraḷakārau.* (R. V. P. 12. 1.)

4. *Ṉakārarkārāvagrahē.* (S. Y. V. P. 1. 88.)

THE ŚĀṬYĀYANA BRĀHMAṆA.

BY

T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A.,

University of Madras.

The Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa was regarded till now as one of the lost Vedic Brāhmaṇas. Two copies of this Brāhmaṇa are mentioned by Oppert in his list of Mss. existing in south India but neither of the copies could be traced. The only information we had till now regarding the Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa was based upon the quotations from that work found in the bhāṣya of Sāyaṇa on the Ṛg Veda. A few references to that Brāhmaṇa are also found in other works.

As early as 1897 Professor Hanns Oertel of the Yale University contributed a paper to the Journal of the American Oriental Society on the *Parallel Passages from the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa to Fragments of the Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa.* (page 15—48.) In this paper the Professor remarks that there is a close parallelism between the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa and the Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa and he shows the agreement in a clear form. Long before 1827, A. C. Burnell, as soon as he discovered the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa, sent in a note to the London Academy regarding the contents of the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa and there he remarked (Vol. XV, pp. 126.) "Were it not that the Jaiminīyas consider the Śāṭyāyana school to be different from theirs, I should identify this new Brāhmaṇa with the Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa quoted by Sāyaṇa. Probably the difference between the two schools, if there really be any, is very small."

According to Burnell and H. Oertel, the Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa should have belonged to the Sāma Veda, and that accounts for the close parellelism that exists between the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa and the Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa. This conjecture of Burnell and Oertel receives corroboration from the remarks in the [1]Prapañcahṛdaya, a work published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. On the other hand, the reference to this Brāh-

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1. *See* page 19.

maṇa in the Caraṇavyūha makes it out to be a Brāhmaṇa of the Yajur Veda. Writing as late as 1929, Paṇḍit Bhagavad Datta of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, states it to be his opinion, that this Brāhmaṇa should have belonged to the Sāma Veda alone. All these writers had only the fragments of the Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa before them when they wrote what they did.

I was fortunate enough to come across a fragmentary copy of the Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa, witten in Telugu characters on palm leaf. It consists of 54 leaves with 8 lines on each page. The first leaf is missing and therefore we are not able to say in what form it exactly began. It abruptly ends in the middle of the 53rd leaf, a fact which indicates that the manuscript is incomplete. I have been able to identify this work as the Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa on the strength of the statement found in the first leaf of the manuscript which contains a list of the several works that are contained in the big volume.

The following subjects are dealt with in the portion that is now available.

1. Audumbarī
2. Bahiṣpavamāna
3. Ājyavidhāna
4. Gāyatravidhāna
5. Mādhyandina
6. Rathantaravidhāna
7. Vāmadevyavidhāna
8. Naudhasavidhāna
9. Kāleyavidhāna
10. Ārbhavavidhāna
11. Yajñāyajñiyavidhāna
12. Ukthyavidhāna
13. Rātriparyāyavidhāna
14. Atirātra
    i. Vairūpavidhāna
    ii. Vairājavidhāha
    iii. Ṣoḍaśavidhāna
    iv. Śākvaravidhāna and
15. Mahāvrata.

Regarding the divisions of this Brāhmaṇa as found in this manuscript, a few words are necessary. On the second page of the manuscript we find No. 3. The numbering continues up to 10 on page 8 of the manuscript where we find षष्ठोऽध्यायः. On page 13 we find सप्तमोऽध्यायः, after No. 10 as before. On page 19 we find similarly अष्टमोऽध्यायः. The numbering of sections after the eighth adhyāya presents some changes. After section 5 on page 23 the numbering begins from 1 again and goes up to 6, where, curiously enough, we find प्रथमोऽध्यायः.

Sections 1 and 2 after प्रथमोऽध्याय: are missing and the first number we come across is 3. There is a change again after No. 4 and we find Nos. 1 to 6 continuously. Tne numbering begins from 1 again and goes up to 7, where we find द्वितीयोऽध्याय:. Then again the number begins from 1 and goes up to 6, on page 36. The numbering begins again and ends with 6 on page 40, where we find तृतीयोऽध्याय:. As before, the numbering begins from 1 and ends with 6 on page 43. Six more sections are again found and at the end of the 6th we find चतुर्थोऽध्याय:. Then we find six sections continuously and after the 6th we find only No. 10 on page 50 where we find the words चतुर्थोऽध्याय:. There are six more sections and the manuscript abruptly ends.

For the sake of convenience, and with the hope that scholars may be able to identify other copies of the work, I reproduce below one section from the beginning.

....ग्नास्तोत्रे मग्ना शस्त्रं प्रतितिष्ठति तेन ब्रह्मवर्चस्य: किं ज्योतिष्टोमस्य ज्योतिष्टोमत्वमित्याहु: विराजं संस्तुत: संपद्यते विराड्वै छन्दसां ज्योति: ज्योति: समानानां भवति य एवं वेद ज्येष्ठयज्ञो वा विष (?) यदग्निष्टोम: प्रजापति: प्रजा असृजत ता अस्मै ज्यैष्ठयाय नातिष्ठन्त स एतमग्निष्टोममपश्यत् तमाहरत् ततोऽस्मै प्रजा: श्रैष्ठययायातिष्ठन्त तिष्ठन्तेऽस्मै समानानां श्रैष्ठयाय य एवं वेद यन्वि (?) त्याहु: गायत्रं प्रातस्सवनं त्रैष्टुभं माध्यन्दिनं सवनं जागतं तृतीयसवनं क तर्हि तुर्य (?) छन्दोऽनुष्टुभिति छन्दसां ह अन्ववक्लृप्तिं यजमानोऽन्ववक्लृप्यतेऽष्टाक्षरा गायत्री हिंकारो नवम: एकादशाक्षरा त्रिष्टुप् द्वादशाक्षरा जगती छन्दोभिरेवानुष्टुभमाप्नोति यो ह्यानुष्टुभं सर्वत्रापि सवनान्यन्वायत्तां वेद सर्वत्रा ह्याविर्भवत्येषा वा अनुष्टुप् सर्वत्रापि सवनान्यन्वायत्ता तद्य एवं वेद सर्वत्राह्याविर्भवति यद्वैराजानोऽध्वानं धावयन्ति येऽश्वां वीर्यवत्तमास्त्यान्युञ्जते (?) त्रिवृत्पञ्चदशस्सप्तदश एकविंशति (?) ते वै सोमानां वीर्यवत्तमास्तानेव युङ्क्ते स्वर्गस्य लोकस्य समष्ट्यै चतुष्टोमो भवति प्रतिष्ठां वै चतुष्टोम: प्रतिष्ठित्यै ॥ ३ ॥

THE BĀṆAS.

BY

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, M.A.,
Archaeological Assistant, Madras Museum.

It is indeed a matter for gratification that the name Bāṇa or Vāṇa, as it is called in Tamil, is found in the inscriptions of most of the dynasties of South India that held sway over the country from about 345 A. D. to 1500 A. D. To pursue the history of those people who were called the Bāṇas or the Vāṇarāyars is therefore a pleasant quest for any student, much more so to the historian as while dealing with the Bāṇas he has to deal with a race of feudatories that served almost all the important powers of South India.

Unfortunately for these Bāṇas, they should have started under an evil star, for they not only began as subordinate officials in charge of the administration of portions of the kingdom but continued almost throughout to be just feudatories of the ruling powers and nothing more till about 1500 A. D. Now they were the vassals of the Kadambas of Banavāsi; then of the Western Cāḷukyas. When the Pallavas of Kāñcīpuram were in power they swore their allegiance to them. So did they too to the Noḷamba-Pallavas. After the decline of Pallava power they became the vassals of the Cōḷas and later on when the Pāṇḍyas became powerful they transferred their allegiance to the latter. We say that they should have started under a bad star because, though they never preferred to be submissive and though consequently their restlessness was often visible in sporadic attempts to regain their independence, especially when any one ruling power was waning, they never gained their end. Instead, reactionary forces set in and the Bāṇas found themselves, after every sporadic attempt at independence, more submissive, with the difference that instead of Master Pallava they had Master Cōḷa or Pāṇḍya to obey now. Like the Śambuvarāyans who were Cōḷa feudatories, they indicated their subjection to the ruling powers by employing the names of the kings and the

princes of the ruling family as their *aliases*[1]. This they did so long as they were forced to retain their subordinate character.

This feudatory family " which played an important part in the ancient history of Southern India " claims descent from the demon Mahābali (Mahāvali) and his son Bāṇa, whence it is called the Bāṇa family. The Bāṇa crest was a bull, the banner bore the emblem of a black buck and their drum was called *paiśāca*[2].

References to the Bāṇas are made in inscriptions dating from very early times. The earliest mention is in the Talaguṇḍa inscription of the Kadamba king Kakusthavarman (430-450 A.D.) in which it is said that Mayūraśarman, the first Kadamba king (345-370 A. D.) was helped by an ally of his called "Bṛhad Bāṇa" in his fight with the Pallavas in the forests of Śrī Parvata and that he levied tribute from this "Bṛhad Bāṇa" as well as from other kings[3]. It would appear that the territory of this " Bṛhad Bāṇa" was very near Śrī Parvata, *i.e.*, the present Śrīśailam in the Kurnool district.

From the Mallohaḷḷi plates[4] we learn that the progenitor of the Gaṅga line, the illustrious Koṅgaṇivarman (425-450 A. D.) was " a wild fire in consuming the stubble of the forest Bāṇa ", while the Hastimalla plates[5] state that the Gāṅga king Koṅgaṇi (Koṅgaṇivarman) was "consecrated to conquer the Bāṇa-maṇḍala". In the Devarhaḷḷi plates[6] it is narrated that the " Bāṇa-kula " was confounded by " the Nirgguṇḍa Yuvarāja Duṇḍu ".

The term "Bṛhad Bāṇa " in the Talaguṇḍa inscription corresponds to the Tamil term *Peruṁ-Bāṇa* of the territorial term *Peruṁ-bāṇappāḍi*. It was by the latter term that the Bāṇa dominions were denoted. This takes us to the question what exactly the Bāṇa capital was and where the Bāṇa territory was located.

According to tradition the Bāṇa capital was known as *Paṟi-vipuri*, whose other forms were *Prapurī*, *Paṟvipura*, *Paṟivai*,

1. M. E. R., 1919, p. 98, para 21.
2. S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 388.
3. E. I., VIII, p. 30.
4. I. A., V, 136.
5. E. C. X, IV.
6. I. A., II, 156.

Parvai, Parvi, Parivaipura, Parivipurī and *Parigipura*. Indeed the last term, *Parigipura*, has led the late Rai Bahadur Venkayya to identify it with Parigi in the Hindupur Taluk of the Anantapur District[1]. The claim of Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District for the Bāṇa capital, inasmuch as it was also known by the appellation *Vāṇapuram*, is easily explained by him as merely meaning that Tiruvallam was one of the important towns, if not the capital, of the Bāṇa territory. Long after the Bāṇas had ceased to rule, their scion, wherever they were, claimed to be lords of *Parivipura* and of *Nandagiri*, another equally important place. *Nandagiri* is the present Nandi-drug in the Chikballapur Taluk, Kolar District, Mysore. The fact that most of the inscriptions of the Bāṇas have been found in the Arcot, Kolar, Anantapur, and Kurnool districts makes one believe that the term *Perumbāṇappāḍi* which denoted the Bāṇa territory was applied to the large tract of territory with Śrīśailam in the north, Kolar and Puṅganūr in the west, Kālahasti in the east and the river Pālār in the south. In the north they appear to have been the governors of the Pallava territory till the latter were driven down by the western Cāḷukyas in the latter part of the 6th century A. D. And when the Cāḷukyas became powerful they transferred their allegiance to them. They are often heard of as participating in petty cattle-raids and skirmishes. Sometimes they are actually seen participating in frontier wars[2].

The Bāṇa territory was also known as *Vaḍugavaḻi-mērku*, *vaḍugavaḻiyiṉ-mērku*, *Vaḍugavaḻi* 12000, and also in Sanskrit as *Āndhrāt pathaḥ paścimato kṣitiḥ*, *i.e.*, " the land to the west of the Āndhra road or of the country called Āndhrāpatha ". *Vaḍuga vaḻi-mērku*, is a Tamil rendering of the Sanskrit form used here. The Vaḍugas are taken to be Kanarese by some[3], but it is more reasonable to take them to be the Telugus to whom the name is more commonly applied by the Tamils. Venkayya identifies *Vaḍugar-mērku* with a portion of the modern Ceded Districts, which alone would strictly be situated to the west of the Āndhra country[4]. Even to-day the Telugus regard the Ceded Districts as

1. E. I., xi, p. 231.
2. *Ibid.* p. 230.
3. M. E. R., 1915, Part II, para 36.
4. E. I., xi. p, 231.

situated to the west of the Āndhra country. Venkayya's identification is strengthened by the fact that "the Pallava dominions originally extended into the Ceded Districts and that the Bāṇas were also ruling some frontier province in that part of the country during the time of the Kadamba king Mayūraśarman". The rise of the western Cāḷukya power in the 7th century acted as a check not only to the Pallava power in the Telugu country but also to that of the local Bāṇas who appear to have guarded the Pallava territories there. Consequently the Bāṇas, as Venkayya supposes, were forced into the northern portion of the North Arcot district[1].

The Bāṇas and the Cāḷukyas.

We have already seen that Śrīśailam was in the vicinity, if not the actual seat of the territory of "Bṛhad Bāṇa", a contemporary of Mayūraśarman. And we know that Śrīśailam is in the Kurnool district, one of the Ceded Districts and that on its southern border lies Gooty. It was in the Gooty province that the earliest known inscriptions, one of them dated, of the Bāṇas were discovered in 1920[2]. All the three inscriptions are the records of the western Cāḷukya king Vijayāditya Satyāśraya Pṛthvīvallabha who ruled from 696 to 733-34 A. D. The first two (nos. 333 and 343) are in archaic Kanarese while the third (no. 359) is in archaic Telugu. These three inscriptions are from different places in the Gooty Taluk of the Anantapur District. The first record (no. 333) registers a grant of land made by Vikramāditya, while Bāṇarāja was ruling over the *Turamara-Viṣaya*. The second inscription (no. 343) records the gift of the village of Nāḍanūru and certain taxes in the country of Bāṇarāja. The third inscription (no. 359), which is an important record, is assigned to the same Vijayāditya Satyāśraya Śrī Pṛthvīvallabha and is written in Telugu. It refers to a fight between the governors of *Turamara-Viṣaya* belonging to Vikramāditya Bali Indra Bāṇarāja, son of Bali-kulatilaka Narasiṁha Bāṇādhirāja and the lords of Puḷagiceruvu. Being dated in the 23rd regnal year of Vijayāditya it may be assigned to 719-720 A. D. In the fight referred to in this record it appears that the rulers of the *Turamara-Viṣaya* were defeated by the chief Vikramāditya Bali Indra Bāṇarāja, son of Narasiṁha Bāṇādhirāja, who acted on behalf of the king, Vijayāditya. We

1. E. I, xi, p. 231.
2. M. E. R., 1920, nos. 333, 343 and 359.

also learn that Vinayāditya, the father of Vijayāditya of the present record, had encamped in 692 A. D. at a village called Citrasēḍu in the *Toramara-Viṣaya*[1]. Citrasēḍu is the modern Chitrachēḍu in the Gooty Taluk and *Toramara-Viṣaya* is certainly the *Turamara-Viṣaya* of the record under discussion. The country now covered by the Gooty Taluk should have formed the ancient *Turamara-Viṣaya*, which about 719-20 A.D., the date of the present record, was governed by a Bāṇa chief, Vikramāditya Bali Indra, in the name of the western Cāḷukya Vijayāditya Satyāśraya. "The mention of a fight with the rulers of this Viṣaya in the time of Vijayāditya suggests clearly that this part of the country was invaded by enemies (probably the Pallavas or their feudatories from the south-east of it) some time between 692 and 720 A.D. and temporarily occupied by them. The Bāṇa chiefs mentioned above, governed this territory as vassals of the western Cāḷukya kings as shown by other inscriptions"[2]. And Vikramāditya Bali Indra probably owed his *alias* "Vikramāditya" to the fact that he was a feudatory of the western Cāḷukyas, the grand-father of Vijayāditya being Vikramāditya.

The Bāṇas and the Pallavas.

In the following century we find the Bāṇas changing their allegiance to the Pallavas and moving down from the Gooty tract to the northern part of the modern North Arcot District. Most of their inscriptions of this period are found in the present Chittoor region. For a long time the chronology of these Pallava feudatories was almost obscure. But to-day it is no longer possible to complain of dearth of materials. The information given by the Guḍimallam plates of the Bāṇa Vikramāditya II, when combined with the information found in other records such as the Udayēndiram plates of Vikramāditya III, five Bāṇa inscriptions (stone) from Guḍimallam, Gūlgānpode stone inscriptions and the Muḍiyanūr plates gives us a connected genealogy of these Bāṇas as indicated in the following table:—

1. Bombay Gaz., vol. I, part II, p. 369.
2. M. E. R., 1921, p. 87, para 2.

Guḍimallam plates (E. I. xvii, pp. 1-7)	Udayēndiram plates (E. I, iii, pp. 74-79)	Five Bāṇa inscriptions (stone) from Guḍimallam (E. I., XI, pp. 222-229)	Gūlgānpode inscriptions (stone) (I.A., x, pp. 36-40)	Muḍiyanūr plates (I. A.. xv, pp. 172-175 & E.C. x, IV).
Virōcana.				
Bali.	Bali			Mahābali.
	Bāṇa.			
	Bāṇādhirāja.			
Nandivarman.	Jayanandivarman.			Nandivarman.
Vijayāditya (I) Malladēva.	Vijayāditya (I) Malladēva *alias* Jagadēkamalla.	Vijayāditya Mahāvali Vāṇarāya, feudal of Dantivarman (no. B.)		Vijayāditya-dēva. Vadhūvallabha Malladēva Nandivarman.
Vikramāditya (I) Jayamēru.	Bāṇavidyādhara.	Vikramāditya Vāṇavidyādhara Māvali Vāṇarāya, feudal of Nandivarman III & Nripatunga (nos. A & C).	Vikramāditya Jayamēru Bāṇavidyādhara Śrī Mahāvali Bāṇarasa (no. II).	
Vijayāditya (II) Prabhumēru.	Prabhumērudēva	Vijayāditya Mahābali Vāṇarāya (nos. D & E).	Mahāvali Bāṇarasa Prabhumēru (no. I).	
Vikramādityavarman (II) (heir-apparent)	Vikramāditya (II)			
	Vijayāditya (III) Pugalvippavarganda.			
	Vijayabāhu Vikramāditya (III) (donor)			

Leaving aside the mythical personages in the Bāṇa genealogy we get the following historical persons who were occupying the North Arcot district between roughly 700 to 970 A.D., most of them being feudatories of the later Pallavas beginning with Nandivarman Pallavamalla :—

1. Nandivarman or Jayanandivarman.
2. Vijayāditya-Dēva I.
3. Malladēva *alias* Jagadēkamalla.
4. Jayamēru Vikramāditya I Bāṇavidyādhara.
5. Prabhumēru Vijayāditya II.
6. Vikramāditya II.
7. Vijayāditya III Pugaḻvippavargaṇḍa.
8. Vijayabāhu Vikramāditya III.

Luckily we have ample materials in the shape of inscriptions regarding the above 8 persons.

1. *Nandivarman* or *Jayanandivarman*—Should have received this name as being a feudatory of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. From an inscription dated in the 62nd regnal year of Nandivikramavarman we learn that the Pallava king of that name had an unnamed Māvali-Vāṇarāya as his feudatory[1]. Though Venkayya has identified this Pallava with Nandivarman III, the son of Dantivarman[2], it is clear, in the present state of our knowledge of Pallava history, that the long reign extending to 65 years with which Nandivarman Pallavamalla is associated would warrant the Nandivikramavarman of the inscription under discussion being identified with Nandivarman Pallavamalla (714-778 A.D.).

2. *Vijayāditya-dēva I*—was a feudatory of Dantivarman, the son and successor of Nandivarman Pallavamalla as is evident from one of the Guḍimallam inscriptions[3] dated in the 49th regnal year of Dantivarman (778-829 A.D.). In this, a Bāṇa chief, Vijayāditya Mahāvali Vāṇarāya is said to be a feudatory of Dantivarman.

1. S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 91.
2. E. I., xi, p. 234.
3. *Ibid.* p. 225, B.

3. *Malladēva.*—We know of this chief from an inscription[1], and from the Muḍiyanūr plates professing to be dated in the Śaka year 261 (338 A.D.) and consequently declared spurious. If we discard the date furnished by the latter plates there seems to be no objection to admit its evidence. The plates say that Nandivarman was of the Mahābali race and that he was succeeded by his son Vijayāditya-dēva, who was succeeded by Malladēva who bore the titles *Vadhūvallabha* and Nandivarman, and resembled the Bodhisattva—"a very uncommon and ancient looking allusion". If we admit the evidence furnished by these spurious plates we have to admit two things, that he bore the title *Vadhūvallabha* and that he took on himself the name Nandivarman to mark his subjection to the Pallava Nandivarman, who in this case is surely Nandivarman III, (829-853 A. D.) the son of Dantivarman.

4. *Jayamēru Vikramāditya I Bāṇavidyādhara.*—This chief, who was also a Pallava feudatory, entered, however, into a matrimonial alliance with the Gāṅgas. He married Kundavvai, the daughter of Pratipati-Araiyar, *i. e.*, of the Gāṅga king Pṛthvīpati I[2], who was a contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amōghavarṣa I and of the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa[3]. There are three inscriptions speaking of his connection with the Pallavas, thereby corroborating the evidence with regard to his date furnished by the Gāṅga alliance alluded to above. If the Gāṅga alliance indicated that this Bāṇa should be assigned to the third quarter of the ninth century the inscriptions speaking of his connection with the Pallavas prove this point. Of the three inscriptions, two are of Nandivarman III and the third of Nṛpatuṅga. The first which is dated in the 17th regnal year of Nandivikramavarman[4] speaks of a Vikramāditya Māvali Vāṇarāya as a feudatory of the Pallava king. The second speaks of the same Bāṇa chief and is dated in the 23rd year of Nandippōttaraiyar, who is identified with Nandivarman III (829-853 A. D.). The third inscription is dated in the 24th year of Nṛpatuṅga (853-879 A. D.), the son and successor of Nandivarman III and speaks of a Vāṇavidyādhara Mahābali

1. M. E. R., 1905, no. 301.
2. S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 99.
3. E. I., xvii, p. 3.
4. S.I. I., Vol. III, p. 94.

Vāṇarāya, who can be identified with this Bāṇa chief[1]. This inscription contains the usual *praśasti* attendant on almost every Bāṇa inscription, *viz.*, *sakalajagat-trayābhivandita-surāsurādhīśa-Paramēśvara-pratihārīkṛta-Mahābalikulōdbhava*, from which we learn that Mahābali, the progenitor of the Bāṇa race was made door-keeper by Paramēśvara (Śiva). It also contains the reference to the Bāṇa territory by the term *Vaḍugavaḻiyin-mērku*.

5. *Prabhumēru Vijayāditya II.*—He is referred to in an inscription[2] as the son of Vāṇavidyādhara and his queen Mahādēvi-Aḍigaḷ *alias* Māraka-maḍigaḷ. This inscription being dated in Śaka 820 (898 A. D.) and containing no reference to the Pallavas proves that by Śaka 820 the Bāṇas had no masters and that our Vijayāditya was not a Pallava feudatory but an independent king. Fortunately for him he lived at a time when the Pallava power had almost waned. To denote his independence his records are dated in Śaka years. One, as we have seen was dated in Śaka 820. Another is dated Śaka 827 (905 A.D.)[3] and is a record of a Bāṇa called Vijayāditya Vāṇarāya who is identical with Vijayāditya II. A few inscriptions discovered in the Punganūr Zamindari of the North Arcot District make mention of Mahāvali--Bāṇarasa--Vikramāditya--Bāṇakandarpa-Jayamēru, Mahāvali-Vāṇarasa-Bāṇavidyādhara, and Mahāvali-Vāṇarasa-*Vijayāditya*-Vīracūḷāmaṇi-Prabhumēru. The third Bāṇa in the list can be identified with Prabhumēru Vijayāditya II, while the first two are identical with Vijayāditya II's father, Jayamēru Vikramāditya I Bāṇavidyādhara. From these inscriptions we also learn that Vijayāditya II had the title '*vīracūḷāmaṇi*'. One of these inscriptions speaks of a battle fought at Sōremaṭi, to capture which Vijayāditya II, or more probably his father allied with the Vaidumba king Gaṇḍa Trinētra and opposed on behalf of the Permanaḍi (*i.e.*, the western Gāṅga king) the Noḻamba king (Vīra-Mahēndra?), and Rācamalla and Mayindadi[4]. A Bāṇa bearing the title "*vīracūḷāmaṇi*" and therefore identical with Vijayāditya II, is said to have repelled a raid made on Kōyaṭūr *i.e.*, Laḍḍigam in the Punganūr Zamindari, by Kāḍuvaṭṭi-Muttarasa, a general of a Noḻamba (Vīra-Mahēndra?). The fight with

1. E. I., xi, p. 226.
2. *Ibid.* p, 227, D.
3. *Ibid.* p. 228, E.
4. *Ibid.* p. 235.

Kāḍuvaṭṭi-Muttarasa is attested to by one of the Gūlgānpode inscriptions, in which it is stated that " by order of Prabhumēru, a hero fought against the Kāḍuvaṭṭi force"[1]. The title Prabhumēru in this inscription removes all doubts on the point and proves that the raid on Kōyaṭūr was indeed made in the reign of Vijayāditya II.[2]

Vijayāditya II appears to have ruled till 910 A.D. An inscription from Maṇigaṭṭa-Gollarahaḷḷi[3] attests to a Bāṇa called Bejeyitta (Vijayāditya)—Bāṇarasa, who is none other than Vijayāditya II, ruling in Śaka 831 (909 A.D.). The next year, however, Śaka 832 (910 A. D.) witnesses his death as is proved by an inscription in Tamil found on a hero-stone from Cendattūr recording the death of Māvali-Vāṇarāyar *alias* Kudıpaṟitaṇḍikkāmaṉār, whom I identify with our Bāṇa, in a cattle-raid at Cendattūr[4].

The Bāṇas and the Cōḷas.

6. *Vikramāditya.*—How long he ruled, it is not easy to ascertain. But it was during his reign that the Bāṇas lost the little independence that they had got in the reign of Jayamēru Vikramāditya I. The Cōḷa Vīra-Nārāyaṇa Parāntaka I (907-952—3 A.D.) is said to have suddenly "uprooted by force two lords of the Bāṇa kings "[5]. Though we are in the dark as to who the two Bāṇas were that were uprooted and whether they were uprooted simultaneously or in succession, we learn from other sources that the Cōḷa Parāntaka I conquered the Bāṇa kingdom (probably only a part of it) and made it over to his Gaṅga feudatory Pṛthivīpati II Hastimalla in or before A.D. 915-16[6], and that the recipient was called Śembiyaṉ Māvalivāṇarāyan, *i.e.*, "the Mahāvalivāṇarāja (who was a feudatory) of the Cōḷa king"[7].

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1. E. I., xi, p. 235.

2. I have said here very little of the connection between the Bāṇas and the Noḷambas as my friend, Mr. M. S. Sarma, who has much specialised knowledge on this point, will shortly be publishing an article on this.

3. E. C., x, Kolar, Mb. 229.
4. M. E. R., 1921, no. 168.
5. S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 387, verse 9.
6. E. I., xi, p. 238, 2n.
7. S. I. I. Vol. II, p. 389.

7. *Vijayāditya III Pugaḻvippavarganḍa.*—The title *Pugaḻvippavarganḍa* that he bore was also borne by a brother-in-law of the Cōḷa prince Rājāditya, son of Parāntaka I, who was killed in the battle of Takkōlam in 949 A. D. by Būtuga, the western Gāṅga feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III. This Bāṇa appears to have been a contemporary of Rājāditya, Gaṇḍarāditya and Ariñjaya, the sons of Parāntaka I. We hear of a daughter of Ariñjaya and sister of Rājakēsarivarman Sundara Cōḷa Parāntaka II (950-966 A.D.) being given in marriage to a Bāṇa king.[1]

8. *Vijayabāhu Vikramāditya III.*—According to the Udayēndiram plates this chief was a friend of Kṛṣṇa-rāja. Dr. Hultzsch has identified the Kṛṣṇa-rāja with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III (about A. D. 950) of whom we know from other sources that he made extensive invasions of the south. The reason for the Bāṇa chief calling himself the "dear friend of Kṛṣṇa" (*Kṛṣṇarāja-priyaḥ*) is not far to seek. We know already that the Cōḷa Parāntaka I gave a part of the Bāṇa kingdom to his Gāṅga feudatory Pṛthivīpati II, who was also the recipient of the titles " Śembiyan Māvalivāṇarāyan " and "Bāṇādhirāja " at the hands of his kind lord. This Bāṇādhirāja was therefore a temporary usurper and a predecessor of our Bāṇa chief. He was indeed the Cōḷa king's candidate for the Bāṇa throne, while Vijayabāhu Vikramāditya III, the legitimate ruler of the Bāṇa throne, was the protege of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king.[2]

It has been supposed that the history of the Bāṇas came almost to an abrupt end with the conquest of the *Perumbāṇappāḍi* by Parāntaka I and its transference to the Gāṅga Pṛthivīpati II Hastimalla in about 915-6 A. D. This was however not the case for we learn that soon after 915-6 A. D. the Bāṇas seem to have moved further south, crossed the river Pālār which was till then the southern boundary of the *Perumbāṇappāḍi* and settled down on the banks of the river South Peṇṇār (*Pinākinī*) calling the new colony *Vāṇakōppāḍi* or *Vāṇagappāḍi.*[3] Vijayabāhu Vikramāditya III appears to have ruled till about 969 A. D. In an inscription of the Cōḷa Āditya II Karikāla (966-970 A. D.) a certain Vāṇakōvaraiyar Vīraparumar is referred to, who is ostensibly identical with Vikramāditya III[4].

1. M. E. R., 1911, no. 215.
2. E. I., xvii, p. 3.
3. M. E. R., 1906-7, part II, para 46; E. I., xi, p. 238.
4. *Ibid.* 1906, no. 109.

The province of *Vāṇagappāḍi* appears to have come into existence as such prior to 949 A. D.[1] and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III (about 950 A.D.) appears to have given it to a Vaidumba feudatory of his. Another feudatory of Kṛṣṇa III, the Gāṅga Pṛthvi-Gaṅgaraiyar (who was different and later than the Pṛthivīpati who was a contemporary of the Cōḷa Parāntaka I) was an ally of the Bāṇas as is evident from his espousing the daughter of a Vāṇakōvaraiyar. It is not clear why the Bāṇa territory should have been apportioned to the Vaidumba by Kṛṣṇa III, "the dear friend" of Vikramāditya III or why a Gāṅga should espouse a Bāṇa lady unless it be that the protege of the Cōḷa Parāntaka I was the person defeated by Kṛṣṇa III and his territory (*i. e.*, a part of the kingdom that was given to him by Parāntaka I) was the province handed over to the Vaidumba feudatory of Kṛṣṇa III. The Bāṇa lady that was espoused by the Gāṅga should then be of the main legitimate line, to which Vikramāditya III belonged and whom Kṛṣṇa III was bent on restoring to his legitimate throne. Kṛṣṇa III should have helped Vikramāditya III along with the Gāṅga feudatory against the Cōḷa protege and the result was a grateful matrimonial alliance between the Bāṇa and the Gāṅga. We have no doubt that Vikramāditya III was almost a feudatory of Kṛṣṇa III just like the Vaidumba, the Gāṅga and other feudatories of the latter. And Kṛṣṇa, the mighty invader of the south as he was, appears to have united these minor powers by marriage ties and the like so that they can help him against the imperial power of the south, the Cōḷa.

The subsequent history of the Bāṇas under the Cōḷas is meagre and almost fragmentary. With the advent of Rājarāja I (985-1014 A. D.) they appear to have become feudatories of the Cōḷas. Though a Bāṇa called Vāṇarāja Aḷagamaiyaṉ is mentioned in an inscription of Pārthivendravarman from Tirumālpuram it is not clear if he had become a feudatory of the latter, who preceded Rājarāja I by perhaps a few years.[2] But of their subjection to Rājarāja I we have proof, for in an inscription from Jambai in the South Arcot district[3] a Bāṇa with the usual Bāṇa titles and named Maṟavaṉ Narasiṁhavarman *alias* Rāja-

1. E. I., xi, p. 239.
2. *Ibid.*
3. M. E. R. 1906, No. 86.

rāja-Vāṇa-Kōvaraiyar is mentioned as a feudatory of Rājarāja. The fact that the Bāṇa here has adopted the name of Rājarāja as his *alias*, in accordance with the Bāṇa custom, proves our point. About this Bāṇa we have it that he built a tank at Neṟkuṉṟam (Vayiramēga—Caturvēdimaṅgalam).

In the time of Rājendra Cōḷa I (1012—1044 A. D.), the son and successor of Rājarāja I, we find that the Bāṇa territory (Vāṇagappāḍi or Vaḍagarai-Vāṇagappāḍi) was called Madhurāntaka-vaḷanāḍu. This is strictly in accordance with the Cōḷa custom of naming places under their subjection with their own names and titles. And in the time of Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1120 A. D.) it was called Rājēndra-vaḷanāḍu[1]. Kulōttuṅga did not stop there. He named his throne at Muḍigoṇḍaśoḻapuram Vāṇādhirājaṉ[2]. The Bāṇas appear to have taken service under the Cōḷas. Thus for instance Kulōttuṅga I counted among his officers a Vāṇarājaṉ, and his son Vikrama-Cōḷa (1118-1135 A. D.) had two, a Mahābali-Vāṇarāya and a Virudarājabhayaṅkara-Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ.[3] Kulōttuṅga III (1178-1216 A. D.) had a Bāṇa feudatory who was called Rājarājadēvaṉ Poṉparappiṉān Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ of Āṟkaḷūr, who is however different from his namesake who was a feudatory of Kō-Peruñjiṅgadēva (1243 A.D.), for the latter, though also a Poṉparappiṉa-Vāṇakōvaraiyar has been identified by Venkayya with Magadēśaṉ Vāṇakulōttamaṉ and Vīramāgadan Rājarājadēvaṉ Poṉpaṟappiṉāṉ Magadaipperumāḷ mentioned in inscriptions from the South Arcot district and Kuḍimiyāmalai in the Pudukottah state. The fact that he bears the *alias* Rājarājadēvaṉ shows his subjection to the Cōḷa, for we know that Kulōttuṅga's son was Rājarāja III.

As regards the Bāṇa feudatory of Kō-Peruñjiṅgadēva, we have inscriptions of his in the South Arcot district and the Pudukottah state. His title Magadēśaṉ or Magadaipperumāḷ has come for some discussion at the hands of Dr. Hultzsch and Venkayya. Both connect the Magadai-maṇḍalam referred to in one of the inscriptions of the above chief[4] with the Makara or Magara kingdom that the Hoysaḷa Narasiṁha II is said to have

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1. M. E. R., 1906-7, Part II, para 46.
2. *Ibid.* 1910, Nos. 93—96.
3. E. I., xi, p. 239, 7n.
4. M. E. R., 1903, No. 10.

conquered. While Dr. Hultzsch locates the Magara in the Coimbatore or Salem district, Venkayya places it between South Arcot and Trichinopoly districts. His remarks are as follows:— "At Tiṭṭaguḍi on the border between the districts of Trichinopoly and South Arcot has been found an epigraph of Magadēśaṉ Poṉparappiṉa Vāṇakōvadaraiyar recording the gift of a village in Magadai-maṇḍalam. Three other records from the same village show that the district of Magadai should have been close to the village, if it was not actually included in it. It would not be an altogether wild conjecture to suppose that Mahara, Makara and Magara of the Hoysaḷa inscriptions is identical with the Magadai-maṇḍalam ruled over by the Vāṇakōvaraiyar - - - - mentioned - - -. If this identification be true, it would indicate the movement of the Bāṇas further south as far as the Pudukkoṭṭai state. The chief of this province who was evidently a feudatory of the rebel Peruñjiṅga had to be overcome before the latter could be attacked by the Hoysaḷa generals commissioned to liberate the Cōḷa king Rājarāja III from captivity."[1] When the Bāṇas become feudatories of Kō-Peruñjiṅga, their action only means that they show their usual spirit of restlessness already alluded to and make a bid for independence by making common cause with the rebel chief against the Cōḷa Rājarāja III, especially when the Cōḷa power was waning.

The Bāṇas and the Pāṇḍyas

When Cōḷa power fell in about 1250 A. D. and the Pāṇḍyas came to rule the land, the Bāṇas found again to their dismay that they had now Master Pāṇḍya instead of Master Cōḷa, for we learn from Pāṇḍya inscriptions that the Bāṇas had become now Pāṇḍya feudatories.[2]

Most of them held office under the Pāṇḍya sovereigns in the 13th and the 14th centuries A. D. From a few inscriptions of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (acc. A. D. 1251 A. D.) from Chidambaram[3] we learn that he "inflicted a severe defeat on the Telungas at Muḍugur, slaughtering them and their allies, the Āryas, right up to the bank of the Pērāru and driving the Bāṇa chief into the forest"[4]. Mr. Nilakanta Sastri

1. E. I. xi, p. 240.
2. *Ibid.*
3. M. E. R., 1913, Nos. 332, 340 and 361.
4. *Ibid.* 1914, part II, para 18.

takes this campaign of Sundara Pāṇḍya to have taken place some time before 1260 A. D., the enemy against whom the campaign was primarily directed being Gaṇḍagōpāla, a Telugu-Cōḍa ruler, who was perhaps helped by the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati and the Bāṇa chieftain who is said to have been "driven into the forest." Who this Bāṇa chief was is not clear.

There are references in the records of Kulaśekhara (acc. A.D. 1268) and his contemporary Vīra Pāṇḍya to a number of chieftains with names ending in Vāṇādirāyaṉ or Māvali Vāṇādirāyaṉ, who were in charge of the administration of portions of the Pāṇḍya kingdom. In later times these chieftains took advantage of the rivalry among the Pāṇḍyan princes and the consequent weakness of the central government to bid for freedom and to "restrict the actual rule of the later Pāṇḍyas to the Tinnevelly district." So long as they were under the Pāṇḍya subjection they seem to have been employing the names of the ruling kings and the princes as their *aliases*. This becomes also apparent from the fact that their Pāṇḍya suzerains referred to them in terms evincing paternal interest like *piḷḷai*, *makkaḷ* etc.

From the records of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍyà (acc. 1251 A. D.) we get the name of a Bāṇa feudatory called Parākrama Pāṇḍya Mābeli Vāṇādhirāya *alias* Pāvanaṅgakāra.[1] He was also called Makkanāyanār. Another Bāṇa chieftain of the name Vikrama Pāṇḍya Mahābali Vāṇarāya-Nāyanār has been assigned to this period.[2] Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya (acc. 1253 A. D.) had in his service a Mābeli-Vāṇarāyar whom he calls Piḷḷai Kulaśēkhara. The term Kulaśēkhara, as we have seen, was a mark of subjection of the Bāṇa to the Pāṇḍya ruler, while the term Piḷḷai was a mark of almost parental interest that the said Pāṇḍya ruler had for his subordinate officer. The term Kulaśēkhara associated with the name of this Bāṇa leads one to identify this Bāṇa with a Piḷḷai Mābali-Vāṇarāyar, who was serving Māravarman Kulaśēkhara (acc. A. D. 1268) as the latter's governor of the province of Kōnāḍu, which formed part of the present Pudukkottah state. Another Bāṇa officer of both Sundara Pāṇḍya and Māravarman Kulaśēkhara was entrusted with the province of Kēraḷaśiṅga-Vaḷanāḍu, which has been identified with a portion of the present Ramnad district, and this Bāṇa appears to have

1. M. E. R., 1916, part II, para 28.
2. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, p. 187.

enjoyed the governorship of this province from about 1251 A. D. to 1292 A. D.

When, in the second half of the 14th century the Pāṇḍya power had waned and the Pāṇḍyas themselves were forced to loose Madura and had to content themselves with their southernmost possessions in the Tinnevelly district, we find the Bāṇas asserting themselves. It appears that Kampana, the Vijayanagara viceroy, was assisted by the Bāṇarāya chieftains in his final conquest of Madura, the Pāṇḍya capital, "and these quandom feudatories of the Pāṇḍya kings doubtless had an interest in thus restricting the range of Pāṇḍya power." It appears that these Bāṇa chieftains had an easy time under the Vijayanagara monarchs and had vast opportunities to rise to prominence.

It has not been possible to identify the Bāṇa that is said to be the author of *Trivikrama-vṛtti*, a Prākṛt grammar, though we have got the information that he claims himself to be a descendant of the Bāṇa family and had the name Trivikramadēva, whence the name of the work. But this much is clear, that he was a Bāṇa chieftain of the 15th century.[1]

Two Bāṇa chieftains, one named Sundara Toḷ Mahāvilivāṇādirāyar, and the other Muttarasa Tirumalai Mahāvilivāṇādirāyar were first noted by Sewell, who remarks that they were rulers of Madura in the period 1451-1499 A. D.[2] The subsequently discovered inscriptions at Śrīvilliputtūr in the Tinnevelly district record that these two Bāṇas "obtained possession of the Pāṇḍya throne in 1453 and 1476" and that they were popularly known as "Mahāvali Vāṇādhirāja".[3]

From a few inscriptions from different places in the Madura district[4] we get some detail about two Bāṇas that were powerful in the country in the 16th century A. D. The earlier of the two was one Mahābali-Vāṇādharāya-Nāyaka. The other that followed him was Sundarattōḷ-Uḍaiyār Māvali-Vāṇādarāyar also known as Sundarattōḷuḍaiya Mahābali-Vāṇādarāyar or more simply Māvali Vāṇādarāyar. He bears the qualification *iṟandakālam edutta-* *i. e.*, "who revived the past." This epithet is best explained by Venkayya as suggesting that the said Bāṇa was responsible for

1. E. C., x, VIII.
2. Sewell, List of Antiquities, ii, p. 223.
3. I. A., xv, p. 173 ; E. C., x, VIII.
4. M. E. R., 1902, Nos. 585 & 587 ; 1903, Nos. 109, 113, 121.

the re-establishment of the Pāṇḍya kingdom, and it would appear as though he is cautioning us not to rely too much on this expression when he follows his translation of the expression with the following remarks:—

"This may be taken to show that he took some part in the attempt made by the contemporaneous Pāṇḍya princes Śrī-vallabha and Kulaśēkhara to set up a show of Pāṇḍya sovereignty".[1]

We have thus seen that the study of the history of the Bāṇas has been the study of "the movement of a tribe from one part of Southern India to another."

[*Note.*—It was remarked on page 302 *ante* (lines 19 and 20) that all the three incriptions, Nos. 333, 343 and 359 of 1920 belong to Vajayāditya Satyāśraya Śrī Pṛthvīvallabha (A. D. 696-734.) Though, in No. 343 the name Vijayāditya does not occur. The ascription of this record to the same king is based upon the presence of the birudas Satyāśraya Śrī Pṛthvīvallabha in the said record.]

1. E. I. xi, p. 240.

MĀDHAVA: AN UNKNOWN BHĀṢYAKĀRA FOR THE ṚGVEDA

BY

DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA M.A., D. PHIL. (oxon.)

Reader in Sanskrit, University of Madras.

There is the Bhāṣya on the Ṛgveda called the Vedārtha-prakāśa by Sāyaṇa Mādhava. It is called the Madhavīya Vedārtha-prakāśa as well. In this Bhāṣya, Sāyaṇa refers to a Mādhava Bhaṭṭa[1], who has been now identified with Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya[2]. There is a third Mādhava, who is the son of Nārāyaṇa Sūri and who has written a Bhāṣya on the Sāmaveda.[3] Besides these three Mādhavas, there is a fourth Mādhava who has written a commentary on the Ṛgveda. So far as I know there is only one manuscript of this work available and that is now in the possession of the Adyar Library. Itis numbered XIX L. 52.

It is an old palm leaf manuscript, written in Grantha characters. The writing is legible, but the manuscript is worm-eaten in parts. It contains 87 folia each folio is about 18 inches long and 1½ inch wide, with an average of 8 lines a side, each line containing an average of 2½ Granthas. Thus the total extent is about 3500 Granthas. The manuscript is complete for the first Aṣṭaka.

The work opens :

ओं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।

1. सारभूता सुसंग्रहा
2. द्वादश्यनुक्रमणिका
3. क्रियते संहिता समाम्
4. पदक्रमः स्वरः पादः
5. दैवं सु ति....भक्तयः
6. देशान्देशान्तराणि समया
7. उपाया दश....

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1. R. V. X, 86, 1.

2. Government Oriental Mss. Library, R. 3076, 3703, and Adyar Library 38 D. 15, Mysore Catalogue of 1900 No. 2; T. S. S. xcvi.

3. Mss. are available at Bodlein, Berlin, Calcutta Sanskrit College, Bikaner.

There are thus six anuṣṭup lines (though defective in some lines) and a fragment of the seventh line. There must be one more line to make up two anuṣṭup stanzas. There is no lacuna between the lines in the manuscript, and it is not possible to fix the exact position of the missing pāda. It is very likely that the first pāda is

ओं नमो वासुदेवाय ।

This is found to be the first pāda in his Anukramaṇīs. His Ākhyātānukramaṇī opens:

ओं नमो वासुदेवाय धातवो नामयोनयः ।

The last line may be:

उपाया दश कीर्तिताः

In the second pāda extracted above there is a reference to Dvādaśī Anukramaṇī. And in the last 4 pādas the names of some of the Anukramaṇīs are given; and in the last line there is the word दश.

The Anukramaṇīs are :

(1) पदक्रम (2) स्वर (3) पाद (4) दैव or देवता (5) सुप् (6) तिङ् (7) उपसर्ग (8) समय ।

सु in the fifth line must be for सुप्, and ति... must be तिङ्. देशान्देशान्तराणि must be a mistake. It can be only देशान्तराणि as the metre shows.

In the body of the Bhāṣya, so far as it is available, he mentions the following Anukramaṇīs of his :

(1) स्वर (2) छन्दस् (3) निपात (4) विभक्ति (सुप् and तिङ्) (5) समय (6) इतिहास ।

I give below the complete list of references to his Anukramaṇīs, which Mādhava gives in the available portion of his Bhāṣya on the Ṛgveda:

1. तत्र यथेत्यस्य अनुदात्तत्वमुपमार्थस्य भवति । प्रकारवचनस्य उदात्तता वक्तव्या । इति स्वरानुक्रमण्यामुक्तम्[1] ॥

1. Bhāṣya on RV. i, 25,1.

2. तत्र एकान्याभ्याम् समर्थाभ्यां अन्येकशब्दयोगे पूर्वाख्यातस्य उदात्तत्वं शाखान्तरे भवति । दाशतय्यां च अनुदात्तत्वमेव । यदान्यशब्दो न श्रूयते तदानीं विकल्पेन भवति । तत्सर्वं **स्वरानुक्रमण्यामुक्तम्**[1] ॥

3. नरेति चामन्त्रितम् अर्थस्वभावात् आद्युदात्तम् इति **स्वरानुक्रमण्यामुक्तम्**[2] ॥

4. पश्यन् हिरण्यचक्रान् इति पादान्ते **छन्दोऽनुक्रमण्यामुक्त**मस्माभिः[3] ॥

5. श्रुधीति पादान्तः । हवमित्येतदप्यन्वितम् ।... । तत्र अर्धर्चमध्ये सन्देहे सति पादान्तनिर्णयहेतवः सर्वे **छन्दोऽनुक्रमण्या**मस्माभिरुक्ताः[4] ॥

6. उपमार्थीयाः सम्प्रत्यर्थाश्च भवन्ति अनन्वितोपमार्थाः इति **निपातानुक्रमण्या**मस्माभिरुक्तम्[5] ॥

7. इह वाक्यात्मकेषु येषु पदवेलायां हानोपादानं शाकल्यः करोति तत्कारणं **समयानुक्रमण्यामुक्तम्**[6] ॥

8. अत्रावस्तेति अकारप्रश्लेषो न कृतः शाकल्येन । अस्ति हि चेदकारः प्रकृतिभावेन भवितव्यम् । अयं च न्यायः अन्तःपादलङ्लङोः अकारप्रश्लेषे सर्वत्र अनुसन्धातव्यः । तत्र वक्तव्यं प्रपञ्चेन **समयानुक्रमण्या**मस्माभिरुक्तम्[7] ॥

9. सर्वत्र निदानं **समयानुक्रमण्यामुक्तम्**[8] ॥

10. अडागमकारणे हेतुः **समयानुक्रमण्या**मस्माभिरुक्तम्[9] ॥

11. हानोपादानयुक्तः । तत्र कारणं **समयानुक्रमण्यामुक्तम्**[10] ॥

12. ते मा इत्यादेः सार्वविभक्तिकत्वं **विभक्त्यनुक्रमण्यामुक्तम्**[11] ॥

13. वो न इति सार्वविभक्तिके इति **विभक्त्यनुक्रमण्यामुक्तम्**[12] ॥

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1. Bhāṣya on RV. i, 30, 19.
2. " RV i, 117, 18.
3. " RV. i, 89, 5.
4. Bhāṣya on RV. i, 25, 13.
5. " " i, 61, 8.
6. " " i, 65, 1.
7. " RV. i, 25, 19.
8. " RV. i, 34, 4.
9. " RV. i, 25, 1.
10. " " i, 31, 8.
11. " " i, 30, 9.
12. " " i, 36, 20.

14. अङ्गिर इत्यात्मन एवामन्त्रणम् । तच्च वाक्यात् पृथग्भूतम् । इति विभक्त्यनुक्रमण्यामुक्तम्[1] ॥

15. अयं च न्यायः सर्वत्रानुसन्धेयः । प्रपञ्चितं च विभक्त्यनुक्रमण्याम्[2] ॥

16. शाट्यायनकोक्त इतिहासः अस्माभिरितिहासानुक्रमण्यां प्रपञ्चेनानुवर्णितः[3] ॥

17. इतिहासानुक्रमण्यामुक्तः स इतिहासः[4] ॥

18. कुर्म इति....नुक्रमण्यामस्माभिरुक्तम्[5] ॥

Devarāja in his Nighaṇṭubhāṣya (published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal) says that Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya wrote a Bhāṣya on the Ṛgveda, and he has also written a large number of Anukramaṇīs.[6] In the body of the Nighaṇṭubhāṣya, he quotes very often from Mādhava. A large number of quotations are found in the newly discovered Bhāṣya of Mādhava, I give the following :—

1. Mādhava :

विवस्वान् । आदित्यश्चेदाद्युदात्तः[7] ॥

Devarāja :

विवस्वच्छब्द आदित्यत्राच्याद्युदात्तः । अन्यत्र मनुष्यविशेषे यजमाने द्वितीयाक्षरमुदात्तम् । इति माधवः[8] ॥

2. Mādhava :

फलिर्भेदनकर्मापि । भिन्....[9] ॥

Devarāja :

माधवस्तु फलिर्भेदनकर्मापि । भिन्दन् गच्छति फलसंयुक्तो गच्छतीति वा इति निरवोचत्[10]॥

3. Mādhava :

इष्टिशब्दः हविर्यज्ञ आद्युदात्तः । यज्ञमात्रे अन्तोदात्तः[11] ॥

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1. Bhāṣya on RV. i, 112, 18.
2. " " i, 53, 7.
3. " " i, 84, 14.
4. " " i, 116, 12.
5. " " i, 25, 3.
6. p. 4. Bibliothica Indian Edition.
7. Bhāṣya on RV. i, 31, 3.
8. p. 187.
9. Bhāṣya on RV. i, 62-4.
10. p. 67.
11. Bhāṣya on RV. i, 30, 12.

Devarāja :

इष्टिशब्दः हविर्यज्ञ आद्युदात्तः । यज्ञमात्रे अन्तोदात्त इति माधवः[1] ॥

From this it is certain that Devarāja is quoting from this Vedabhāṣya, and also from the Anukramaṇīs written by this Mādhava. It is true that there are quotations from the other Mādhavas already known.

About the new Mādhava, we know that his name is Mādhava[2] and that he belongs to the village designated Gomati[3]. I give below all the colophons found at the end of the various Adhyāyas in the first Aṣṭaka.

1. निपुणमतिषु धर्मस्ते युगेऽस्मिन्न लभ्या
मदि....विदथ स्युर्हैत्व....स्ते भवन्ति ।
कृतथ च निरुक्तं जानते न चैतत्
कृतमतिरपि कश्चिद्वैदिको वाक्यवित् स्यात् ॥

2. इत्यध्यायं दाशतय्या द्वितीयं
ग्रामे ग्रामे जातो **गोमति**र्व्याचकार ।
यस्मिन् विप्राः सोमपाः शीलवन्तो
यान्नास्पृक्षीन्न स्वभावः कलेर्यः ॥

3. इत्थं निरुक्तः प्रथमाष्टकस्य
तृतीय आसीदनुवाक एषः ।
पश्यन्तु तं सूक्ष्मदृशो द्विजाग्रया
ये शाब्दिका ये च निरुक्तनिष्ठाः ॥

4. अथ मतिं गहनार्थो व्याकृतोऽध्याय इत्थं
नति....न...इह कश्चिद्दृश्यते मृग्यमाणः ।
कृतमपि तिर...दैवादर्बुदे मानवः स्यात्
पुरुषमृगविधानं चाश्वमेधे हि मृष्टम् ॥

5. इत्यध्यायो व्याकृतो दाशतय्याः
शक्या सोम पञ्चमो **माधवेन** ।
भूयांसोऽस्मिन् संशयच्छेदनीयाः
ते निर्णेयाः पण्डितैर्वाक्यविद्भिः ॥

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1. p. 348. 2. Colophon, 5. 3. Colophon, 2.

6. इन्द्रो मदायेत्थमभून्निरुक्तः
षष्ठोऽनुवाकः प्रथमाष्टकस्य ।
सूक्तानि चास्मिंस्तु चतुर्दशासन्
पूर्वोऽनुवाकस्त्वधिकश्चतुर्भिः ॥

7. ....कर्माण्यृषिराह कुत्सः
कक्षीवदार्थे जेषिभिश्च तत्र ।
नासीत् प्रपञ्चः कथितस्तु येषां
बहुश्रुतास्तानि वदन्तु विप्राः ॥

8. धातः किं द्विज साधु तेन चरितं किं तद्विधायालं
किं ते तैः कृतमाहुरार्य इमे सूक्तं दुरुक्तं समम् ।
विस्पष्टं लिखितेषु तच्च सदृशं प्रज्ञाश्च दृष्टा
प....तादृशानहमिदं श्रेष्ठं निरुक्तं मया ॥

This Mādhava is different from Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya, who is the author or Ṛgarthadīpikā. I give below the Commentary on two mantras selected at random to show that the two commentaries are different from each other.

(i) Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya :

आ तु न इन्द्र[1] । पुत्रमिन्द्रसममिच्छन् कुशिको ब्रह्मचर्यं चचार । तस्येन्द्रः स्वयमेव पुत्रो बभूव । सास्य कौशिकता । स सुवर्णरजताभ्यां कुशिभ्यां परिगृहीत आसीत् सास्य कुशिकतेति वा ब्राह्मणम् । आभि-मुख्येन क्षिप्रं पिबेन्द्र कौशिकास्माकं प्रहृष्यन् सोमं नवतमम् आयुश्च सुष्ठु प्रवर्धय । कुरु च सहस्रधनस्य संभक्तारं मधुच्छन्दसम् ॥

The present Mādhava :

आ तु[1] । आपिब शीघ्रं न इन्द्रसुतम् । कौशिक । वृत्रेण युध्यन् इन्द्रस्वाध्यायकालालाभात् वेदान् निराचकार । स वृत्रं हत्वा विश्वामित्रमुपेत्य तं पुनरध्यैष्ट । सास्य कौशिकता इति शाट्यायनकमुक्तम् । कौशिको ह स्मै नमः ब्रह्माणमुपनिपत्य इति च ताण्डकम् । स सुवर्णरजताभ्यां कुशिभ्यां परिगृहीत आसीत् । सास्य कुशिकता इति अध्वर्युब्राह्मणम् । मन्दसानो मोदमानः । सप्तात्मरूपजनः । नव्यं नवकम् अपभ्रष्टुत्यम् आयुः । प्राणानां चिरमयनं प्राणेष्वेवायुर्दधाति सर्वत्वायेति ब्राह्मणम् । कृधि सहस्रसाम्

ऋषिं मधुच्छन्दसम् । स भृषिम् अर्षेसेत् दर्शनार्थात् । दर्शनम् अर्थस्यापि व्यमन्त्रणम् ॥

(ii) Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya :

त्वं तम्[1] । त्वं तं ब्रह्मणस्पते सोम इन्द्रश्च मर्त्यं यज्ञस्य पत्नी दक्षिणा च रक्षतु दारिद्र्यात् आहन्तुर्वा रक्षसः ॥

Thepr esent Mādhava :

त्वं तम्[2] । त्वं तमिममस्माकं यज्ञं ब्रह्मणस्पते सोम इन्द्रश्च मर्त्यमंहसः आहन्तुः सपत्नात् पातु । परोक्ष उत्तमः पादः दक्षिणा च तं पातु इति । दक्षिणा ददतेः । प्रजापतेर्दुहिता या दानदेवता । इति ॥

There are some places where both the Mādhavas deal with the same point. But neither makes a reference to the other. I give the following instances:

(i) Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya :

प्रायेण व्यक्तिभेदस्य वीप्सैकस्या अपि क्वचित् ।
अग्निमग्निं हवीमभिरिति तत्र निदर्शनम् ॥
वदन्त्यन्ये कालभेदादग्निरेकोऽपि भिद्यते ।
विद्यते तत्र वीप्सेति देश भेदादथापरे[3] ॥

The present Mādhava :

अग्निमग्निम् । एकोऽप्यग्निः भेदादनेक इव । दशभेदादित्यपरे । तन्न समञ्जसम्[4] ॥

(ii) Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya :

सुतसोमपरिज्ञानं न त्वागमनकारणम् ।
न चोदात्तमिहाख्यातं वक्ष्यते तत्र कारणम् ॥
ऋचामभिहितार्थानां यथा पश्चात् समन्वयः ।
हेतुत्वहेतुमद्भावौ तथैवात्रापि संगतौ[5] ॥
अत्र ब्रूमोऽर्थसंस्थानमिह यस्मिन् भवेत्तिङि ।
तत्तु सर्वानुदात्तं स्यादसंस्थित उदात्तवत्[6] ॥

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1. RV. i, 10, 11.
2. RV. i, 18, 5.
3. Kārikā iv, iii, 4 and 7.
4. Bhāṣya on RV. i, 12, 2.
5. Cf. T. S. S. Edition V R i....
6. Kārikā i, i, 14.

The present Mādhava :

अपर्यवसितार्थत्वादाख्यातमुदात्तम् । दृशेयम् इति । चवायोगे प्रथमा इति चार्धीमहे । यत्राख्यातयोरितरेतरापेक्षा नास्ति द्वे अप्युदात्ते भवतः । यत्र त्वपेक्षा तत्र विवक्षायां पूर्वमुदात्तम् । अविवक्षितश्चेत् सोऽर्थः अनुदात्तत्वमेव । इति वैयाकरणाः[1] ॥

(iii) Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya :

एवंविधेषु मन्त्रेषु तस्मादेक ऋषिर्मतः ।
प्रधानोऽन्ये त्वप्रधाना इति मन्यामहे वयम् ॥
स च प्रधानो निर्देशादस्माभिर्ज्ञायते क्वचित्[2] ।
ऋज्राश्वः प्रष्टिभिरिति विस्पष्टमृषिराह च[3] ॥
प्राधान्यञ्चात्मनो दृष्टौ भ्रातृणामप्रधानताम् ।

The present Mādhava :

तत्रैतदवगन्तव्यम् । बह्वृषीकेषु मन्त्रेषु एकः प्रधानो द्रष्टा । अन्ये तु प्रोत्साहकाः । तथा च ऋज्राश्वः प्रष्टिभिरिति ऋज्राश्वस्यैव प्राधान्यम् अत्र श्रुतम्[4] ॥

The following points are clear. (1) There are three Mādhavas who have commented on the Ṛgveda, namely Sāyaṇa Mādhava, Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya and the present Mādhava. (2) It is the last of the three that has written the Anukramaṇīs which Devarāja attributes to Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya. (3) The second and the third Mādhavas cannot be identical. (4) Devarāja identifies all the Mādhavas with Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya.

In the Trivandrum Palace Library, there is a work called the Nāmākhyātānukramaṇī. I give below a few stanzas from the beginning of the work.

हरिः श्रीगणपतये नमः । अविघ्नमस्तु ।
लोकः पदं स्वरो वाक्यं समभिव्याहृतिः श्रुतिः ।
आर्षाण्यपि च शास्त्राणि पदार्थज्ञानहेतवः ॥
व्युत्पत्तिस्तत्र लोकस्य पारम्पर्यसमागता ।
अग्निवाय्वादयः शब्दास्तत्र सर्वे निदर्शनम् ॥
प्रकृतिप्रत्ययव्यूहात् पदार्थपरिकल्पनम् ।

1. Bhāṣya on RV. i, 24, 1.
2. Kārikās, v-iv, 11, 12a, b.
3. Kārikā v-iv, 15.
4. Bhāṣya on RV. i, 100, 1.

पदमित्युक्तमस्माभिर्धनो हन्ता हनो यथा ॥
स्वरः प्रसिद्धो बह्वस्तेन चार्थाः प्रकल्पिताः ।
नामाख्यातविभागश्च स्वरादेवावगम्यते ॥
ज्ञातार्थानि पदानि स्युर्वाक्यनिर्णयहेतवः ।
वाक्यं तदुक्तमस्माभिरपामर्थं निदर्शनम् ॥
अर्थो हि निम्नवाच्यत्र क्लृप्तोऽर्तैः? र्वाक्ययोगतः ।
पदयोरेव संयोगः समभिव्याहृतिर्मता ॥

Further on in the Introduction, Mādhava says that he has written twelve Anukramaṇīs. The twelfth is the Bhāṣya itself. So he calls the Bhāṣya the द्वादश्यनुक्रमणिका in the introductory stanzas of the Bhāṣya, quoted in the beginning of this Paper. Only the Ākhyātānukramaṇī and the Nāmānukramaṇī are available. I quote below what he says about his Anukramaṇīs :

1. आख्यातानुक्रमणिका पठितव्याग्रतो नृभिः ।
2. अनुक्रमणिका नाम्नामध्येया तदनन्तरम् ।
नासंस्कृता अधीयीरन्ननुक्रमणिके इमे ।
3. निपातानुक्रमणिका शीलनीया ततो द्विजैः ।
4. अनुक्रमणिका तुर्या गूढार्थपदगोचरा ।
तयैवाव्यक्तसंस्कारा निरुच्यन्ते क्रमादिति ।
5. पञ्चम्यनुक्रमणिका विभक्त्यर्थप्रदर्शिनी ।
तया सुप्तिङ्विभक्त्यर्थवृत्तयो दर्शिता इति ।
6. अनुक्रमणिका षष्ठी स्वरतोऽर्थस्य निर्णयः ।
7. सप्तम्यनुक्रमणिका शाकल्यमनुधावति ।
व्याख्यातैवं हि तेनेयं संहितापददर्शनात् ।
समयानुक्रणिका यत्नेन महता द्विजैः ।
बह्वृचैरवगन्तव्या तस्मात्प्राज्ञतमैरिति ।
8. अनुक्रमणिका तस्मादार्षी ग्राह्याष्टमी द्विजैः ।
9. छन्दोऽनुक्रमणी तस्माद्ग्राह्या सूक्ष्मेक्षिकापरैः ।
10. दशम्यनुक्रमणिका देवतानां प्रदर्शिनी ।
11. एकादशीतिहासानामनुक्रमणिका ततः ।

12. एताभिरेकादशभिर्यास्वर्थो नावभासते ।
द्वादश्यनुक्रमणिका तासामर्थं वदेदिति ।
अङ्गैः किं चैकादशभिरर्था ये प्रतिपादिताः ।
व्यक्ता भवन्ति ते सर्वे मन्त्रार्थानां प्रदर्शनात् ।

In a certain recension of the Ṛgvedabhāṣya by Skandasvāmin, which is different from the recension for which the first Adhyāya has been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series as No. XCVI, there are many quotations from the Nāmānukramaṇī of the present Mādhava. I give some quotations.

1. क्रतुर्वीर्योर्जितं शची
2. ब्रह्म वीर्यं क्रतुर्व्रतम्
3. स्त्रियो योषा योषणा ग्नाः
4. दधिक्रा वह्निवाघतौ
5. ऋतं मघो देवतातिः
6. यह्वोऽस्मात्रोऽद्भुतो ब्रध्न
इतीमे महतिश्रुताः

I am bringing out an edition of this recension of the Ṛgvedabhāṣya by Skandasvāmin. I may here mention that none of these quotations is found in the recension published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. If Skandasvāmin is really quoting from the present Mādhava, he must be one of the earliest of Vedic commentators, as Skandasvāmin is, on the evidence now available, placed at about 600 A. D. The available portion of the Vedabhāṣya by the present Mādhava will be soon published by me.

IṢṬA-SIDDHI : AN OLD ADVAITIC WORK.

BY

M. HIRIYANNA, M.A., L.T.,
Mysore.

In concluding his *Advaita-siddhi* which has become a classic of Indian philosophy, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī remarks[1] that there were in his time three advaitic works bearing the title of *Siddhi* and that he added a fourth to them. He is comparatively a recent writer (1500 A. D.) but the three works to which he refers are all very old. They are : (1) The *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi* of Sureśvara which is well known and has been published more than once. It as a work contemporaneous with Śaṁkara and is indeed said to have been composed at his suggestion.[2] (2) The *Brahma-siddhi* of Maṇḍana Miśra which is now for the first time in the course of publication under the editorship of Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. S. Kuppuswāmi Śāstrī. This work also may be taken as contemporaneous with Śaṁkara. Perhaps it is slightly earlier.[3] (3) The *Iṣṭa-siddhi* of Vimuktātman which is little known now. It is of this work that some account is proposed to be given here, indicating particularly its place in the history of Vedāntic thought. Its author, as known from the colophon[4], was a disciple of one Avyayātman and seems to have written

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सिद्धीनामिष्टनैष्कर्म्यब्रह्मगानामियं चिरात् ।
अद्वैतसिद्धिरधुना चतुर्थी समजायत ॥

(p. 900, Nirṇaya-sāgara Edition.)

2. *See* i. 3. (Bombay Sanskrit Series. No. xxxviii.)

3. Contrary to common belief, Sureśvara and Maṇḍana Miśra are not the same. *See* JRAS. for 1923, pp. 259—63.

4. The colophon is as follows :—

इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यस्य श्रीमदव्ययात्मभगवत्पूज्यपादशिष्यस्य विमुक्तात्मभगवतः कृताविष्टसिद्धावष्टमोऽध्यायः ॥

Some Manuscripts substitute विमुक्ताचार्य- for विमुक्तात्म.

another work named *Pramāṇa-vṛtta-nirṇaya* (28)[1]. Manuscripts of the *Iṣṭa-siddhi* are rather rare, they being found only in a few public libraries. They are also generally incorrect, evidently because the work has ceased to be studied for a very long time ; and the copies of it made in later times have not been properly scrutinized. The work is now being printed and will soon appear in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series[2].

It is well known that Rāmānuja in his *Śrī-bhāṣya* has instituted a searching examination into the advaitic doctrine of Śaṁkara. In doing so he has, as may be expected, taken as his authority for Advaita, the statements of Śaṁkara himself, and of other celebrated exponents of the doctrine like the Vivaraṇa-kāra.[3] But in one essential portion of his examination which is designated the *mahāpūrva-pakṣa*[4] and in which are found summarised some of the characteristic features of the Advaita such as the unity, permanence, self-dependence etc. of *anubhūti* or Brahman, Rāmānuja draws his information solely from the *Iṣṭa-siddhi.* We have for this the authority of no less a person than Vedānta Deśika[5]; and it is fully corroborated by the arguments as given in this portion of the *Śrī-bhāṣya* and even by some of the phrases and turns of expression which Rāmānuja

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1. The figures within brackets, whether in the body of the Paper or in the foot-note, refer to the pages of the Deva-nāgarī Manuscript in the Mysore Oriental Library.

2. I have to express my gratitude to the Curators of the Oriental Libraries in Madras and in Mysore for permitting me to consult the MSS. of the work in the Libraries and lending or furnishing me copies of them.

3. Cf. *e.g.* passages occurring on pages 69 and 172 of the Nirṇaya-sāgara Edn. of the *Śrī-bhāṣya* on the first four *sūtras* with those on p. 26, in the Edn. issued from the same Press of Śaṁkara's *Bhāṣya* on the *Vedānta-sūtra* with *Ratna prabhā* etc. and on page 13 of *Pañca-pādikā-vivaraṇa* (Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series) respectively.

4. Pp. 45—69 : in the Nirṇaya-sāgara Edition.

5. See *Tattva-ṭīkā* (p. 34 part ii of the Conjeevaram Edn.), his incomplete commentary on the *Śrī-bhāṣya* where he quotes the first stanza of the *Iṣṭa-siddhi* and states that the summary of the *mahāpūrva-pakṣa* is according to the arguments of that stanza. This stanza is—

यानुभूतिरजामेयानन्तात्मानन्दविग्रहा ।
महदादिजगन्मायाचित्रमित्तिं नमामि ताम् ॥

takes from the *Iṣṭa-siddhi*. The very word *anubhūti* which he so frequently uses in this connection in the sense of Brahman is taken from it. It is clear from this that the *Iṣṭa-siddhi* was once held in high estimation by scholars in Southern India where Rāmānuja wrote; and that the work is important not only for tracing the development of the Advaita doctrine but also for a proper appreciation of the reasoning adopted by Rāmānuja in refuting that doctrine. Its importance is further indicated by the references to it found throughout the literature of both these schools of Vedānta.[1] We shall mention some of these in the sequel.

It would be useful if the chronological position of such an important work could be ascertained. We know that it is older than Rāmānuja. The references to it traceable in other Vedāntic works are all later than Rāmānuja; and their evidence is consequently of no use to us in this connection. One of these, however, is in a work which is definitely earlier, *viz.* the *Ātma-siddhi* of Yāmunācārya who belonged to the same Vedāntic tradition as Rāmānuja and is stated to have been his *parama-guru* or preceptor's perceptor. In discussing the nature of the self from various standpoints in this work, Yāmuna quotes the first stanza of the *Iṣṭa-siddhi* and attempts to refute the advaitic position as stated in it.[2] This is the very stanza which, according to the *Tattva-ṭīkā*, Rāmānuja had in mind in criticising the conception of Brahman in the Advaita. In fact, Rāmāṇuja in this respect traverses the same ground as Yāmuna had done before him. This shows that the *Iṣṭa-siddhi* was regarded as a work of authority on the Advaita by 1100 A. D. which date we may assign to one that is reckoned as the *parama-guru* of Rāmānuja. No clear reference to our work is known in any earlier writing so that we must fix 1050 A. D. as the inferior

1. See (i) *Tattva-pradīpikā* of Citsukha pp. 83 (com.) 363 (com.) and 381 (Nirṇaya-sāgara Edn.) (ii) *Kalpa-taru* on Vācaspati's *Bhāmatī* p. 932 (Nirṇaya-sāgara Edn.) (iii) *Advaita-siddhi*, p. 440. (iv) *Vivaraṇa-prameya-saṁgraha* of Vidyāraṇya, p. 225. (Vizianagaram Series). (v) *Vedānta-sāra*; Edited by Jacob (Nirṇaya sagara Press), p. 89. (vi) *Sarvārtha-siddhi* on *Tattva-muktā-kalāpa* by Vedānta Deśika, p. 417. (Benares Edn.) The stanza which is quoted here and is described as 'a child's prattle' is *Iṣṭa-siddhi*, i, 9.

2. *See* p. 21 of the work printed at Conjeevaram under the title of *Siddhi-traya*.

limit of its date, assuming that it should have taken at least 50 years for the work to have attained the standing implied by its being referred to as an authority by the followers of a rival school of thought. This limit receives support from a rather unexpected quarter—the *Śrī-kaṇṭha-carita* of Maṅkhaka which belongs to the early part of the 12th century.[1] In the last canto of this work which gives a glowing description of contemporary men of letters, mention is made of an author who commented upon the *Iṣṭa-siddhi.* This, by the way, shows that the work was well known in the North also in Rāmānuja's time. As regards its superior limit, we have to depend upon the references to other works which it contains. Generally speaking, Vimuktātman quotes sparingly, quotations even from Śaṁkara being rare. He of course cites many passages from the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavad-gītā. He also quotes from Bādarāyaṇa, Gauḍapāda and Bhartṛhari. But they are all too early to be of any avail to us in determining the date of the *Iṣṭa-siddhi.* The latest writer to whom the book refers is Sureśvara. There are two quotations in it from him: one in the last chapter and the other in the last but one. The first cannot be traced in any of the printed works of Sureśvara, including the *Vārttika* on the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.[2] The second passage is found in the *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi* (iv 53) so that, even if we should leave out of consideration the first of these passages, we still have one which is definitely from Sureśvara. Since Sureśvara was a pupil of Śaṁkara, we may conclude that the *Iṣṭa-siddhi* cannot be earlier than 850 A. D. These limits, *viz.* 850 to 1050 A. D. are all that we can fix for the work with the data we at present possess. There is one circumstance however which at first sight seems to determine the time of our work quite definitely; and we should refer to it here. Sarvajñātman, disciple of Sureśvara, refers according to the commentators on his *Saṁkṣepa-śārīraka* to the *Iṣṭa-siddhi*[3]. If that is so and if the author of the *Iṣṭa-*

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1. See *Kāvya-mālā* Series No. 3 (xxv 32).

2. The printed *Vārttika*, it may be stated, does not contain all the verses of the work. See Editor's note on page 298. (Ānandaśrama Edn.)

3. *See* Madusūdana's commentary (Benares Edn.) on iv, 14. Compare also the other commentaries in the Ānandāśrama Edn. of

siddhi in his turn quotes from Sureśvara, it is clear that all the three writers should have been contemporaries. Probably they were; but it seems somewhat risky to draw such a conclusion on the basis of what is stated by commentators who wrote several centuries later.

There is also another circumstance that has to be mentioned in this connection; but, while it may furnish a point of some briographical interest, it does not take us nearer the truth about the date of our author. There is a book with the title *Nyāya-makaranda* published in the Chowkhamba Series at Benares; and in this volume are included two other short treatises by the same author, *viz.* Ānandabodha. Ānandabodha's name is well known as that of a great exponent of the Advaita and his importance will be indicated if we mention that one of the five definitions of *mithyātva* —a conception of fundamental importance for the Advaita—is ascribed to him[1]. In one of these short treatises, viz. *Pramāṇa-mālā*, Ānandabodha quotes the following half-śloka[2] which is found in the *Iṣṭa-siddhi* (120) prefacing it with the words *etadevoktaṃ gurubhiḥ*—

नान्यत्र कारणात्कार्यं न चेत्तत्र क्व तद्भवेत् ।

'An effect cannot be dissociated from its material cause; and if it does not abide there, where else could it be?' We may conclude from this, though we cannot be quite sure about it, that Ānandabodha was a disciple of Vimuktātman[3]. There is nothing improbable in this, for Ānandabodha was an early writer on the Advaita as shown, for example, by the fact this his *Nyāya-makaranda* has been commented upon by Citsukha (1300 A. D.)[4]. Further, Ānandabodha quotes more than once from the *Iṣṭa-siddhi* and his view in regard to more than one detail of Advaitic

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the work. The original contains only the general expression *mukti-kovidāḥ*, i. e. ' those that are well-versed in the knowledge leading to release'.

1. See *Laghu-candrikā* on *Advaita-siddhi.* p. 440 (Nirn: sag. Press).

2. *See* p. 4. I owe this reference to Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. S. Kuppuswāmi Śāstrī.

3. It is strange that the colophon in none of the three works of Ānandabodha mentions his *guru.*

4. *See* Introduction to *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi* (Bombay Sans. Series) 1925 p. xxxvi.

doctrine is identical with that maintained in the latter[1]. Ānandabodha's date is not known; but he frequently refers to Vācaspati[2] who is now generally taken to have flourished in the first half of the ninth century (841 A.D.)[3]. If the author of the *Iṣṭa-siddhi* be the *guru* of Ānandabodha, he cannot be earlier than 850 A.D. —a result at which we have already arrived.

The work is described by the author himself as a *prakaraṇa* or 'manual' of the Vedānta. It is divided into eight chapters of which the first is much the biggest, occupying over one-half of the work. The remaining chapters also are of unequal length. It is written throughout in *anuṣṭubh* stanzas which are commented upon by the author himself—a method of exposition which seems to have been common at one time. Speaking generally, the work exhibits more interest in the theory than in the practical aspects of Vedāntic teaching. The contents of the several chapters may be briefly stated as follows :—

Chapters 1-5: These are devoted to establishing the doctrine of what is known as *anirvacanīya-khyāti* or the Advaitic view of Error as against the views adopted in the other systems. In other words, the aim of these chapters is to defend the doctrine of Māyā; and this doctrine, it appears, is what is intended to be understood by the term *iṣṭa* occurring in the title of the work[4]. In these chapters is contained one of the fullest expositions of the various theories of Error known to Indian philosophy.

Chapter 6: This discusses the problem of what constitutes the *āśraya* or the seat of *avidyā* or Māyā. As is well known, there are two views here some like Vācaspati maintaining that the jīva is the *āśraya;* and others like Sureśvara holding that it is Brahman[5]. The view taken here is the latter.

1. See *e.g.* pp. 199 & 359 on which are mentioned ideas found respectively on pp. (30) (291) of the *Iṣṭa-siddhi.*

2. See *e.g.* pp. 163 & 197.

3. *See* Keith: Indian Logic & Atomism. pp. 29-30.

4. Compare:—
अतो मायात्मा एको मयेष्टः सिद्धः 1 (277).

5. See e.g. *Siddhānta-leśa-saṁgraha* pp. 55 & 65 (Kumbhakonam Edition).

Chapter 7 : This deals with the question whether there is only one jīva or many and in this connection reviews the materialistic doctrine that denies the soul altogether, pluralistic doctrines like the Nyāya that recognize many souls, all being viewed as other than the Supreme and that school of Vedānta which assumes a relation of identity-in-difference (*bhedābheda*) between the jīva and Brahman. The conclusion reached is that there is only one jīva, which is no other than Brahman itself associated with Māyā.

Chapter 8 : This is about the nature of *avidyā-nivṛtti*, the disappearance or negation of *avidyā* which is itself conceived as neither *sat* nor *asat*. Granting *avidyā*, the opponent asks how its disappearance which is required as a pre-condition of release is to be conceived. This is a favourite question with the critics of the Advaita who not only attack the doctrine of Māyā directly but also try to refute it indirectly by showing the impossibility of conceiving the negation of *avidyā*. More than one explanation of it is given here. One of them is that *avidyā-nivṛtti* is *pañcama-prakārā* by which we have to understand that it is neither *sat*, nor *asat*, nor *sadasat*, nor other than *sat* and *asat* but is of a fifth variety. It looks as if the explanation was borrowed from the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism which conceives of its ultimate, *viz.* *Śūnya* in exactly the same way—as discarding the four predicables of *sat* etc. (*catuṣkoṭi vinirmukta*)[1]. This explanation of the negation of *avidyā* is found in the first chapter of the work. In the present chapter two other explanations are suggested as alternative ones. They are—(i) that it may be equated with Brahman itself on the principle that all negation is eventually expressible in positive terms and (ii) that it is *anirvacanīya* or other than 'is' or 'is not' like *avidyā* itself. It is the first of the three explanations that has come to be associated in Advaitic tradition with the *Iṣṭa-siddhi*[2].

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1. See *Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha*, Ch. ii.

2. *See* commentaries on the *Saṁkṣepa-śārīraka*, iv. 14, a stanza already referred to. The *Siddhānta-leśa-saṁgraha* of Appaya Dīkṣita ascribes the view to Ānandbodha (p. 436). But see *Nyāya-makaranda* pp. 352-9.

NOTE ON THE MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF BHAKTI-RĀJA.

BY

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, M.A.

In the April-June (Vol. V, Part II-1931, pp. 128-143) number of the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras I edited the above plates. A few corrections, and one or two points of interest that escaped my notice at the time of writing find a place in this note.

In the first place, my identification of the date of the grant from the data available in the plates as Monday, 21st October, 1355 A.D., needs revision. I am thankful to Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Deputy Director-General of Archæology for drawing my attention to this, and communicating to me his calculations which run as follows[1]:—

"I think, we should take 'Śaka 1277' as an 'Expired' year and not as a 'Current' one. It is also equally possible that the expression '*Mahākārttikyām*' may denote the Kārttika amāvāsyā, instead of Paurṇimā. The following dates may be considered and against them I have also noted the ending moments of their respective *tithis* as given on page 315 of the Ephemeris (L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, *An Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. IV).

	Day	*Date*	*Month*	*Year A.D.*	*Tithi ending moment*
1.	Monday	24	October	1356	Amāvāsyā ·40
2. (a)	Monday	7	November	1356	14·60
2. (b)	Tuesday	8	November	1356	Paurṇimā ·67

Item 1 is a possible equivalent if 'Amāvāsyā' stands for the expression 'Mahākārttikī'. Items 2 (a) and (b) will show that the Paurṇimā tithi began on Monday evening and ended on

1. Mr. Dikshit's letter to me on this point is reproduced here.

Tuesday evening. The observances connected with the Kārttika Paurṇimā, such as the gift and floating of lighted lamps are more appropriate to the evening and it is therefore very probable that of the two days over which the Paurṇimā extended, the first, *i.e.* Monday was considered as the ceremonial Paurṇimā, suitable for the donation".

Thus Monday, 7th November 1356 A.D. appears to be the most probable date corresponding to the data given in the plates. The cyclic year would then be Dundubhi instead of Manmatha.

A few readings in the text (pp. 137-143) should be corrected as follows:—

P. 137- *Text*, line 7- Instead of "*mahair*" read "*mahō*"

P. 138- " " 19& 20 " "b(*h*)*aṁdhavī-yyaṁ*" read "*bhānavī-yam*"

P. 139- " " 34 " "*ya yēṣāṁ*" read "*yajuṣāṁ*"

P. 140 *Translation*-verse 4, lines 3 and 4-Instead of "who treasure most the elevation of their souls or who care most for self-respect" read "who take their origin from themselves (*i.e.* who are sprung either from the sun or the moon)".

P. 141 " verse 10, lines 8 and 9-Instead of "He received or upheld or supported the friendly reverence of his leige, Bhōja-rāja—" read "He obstructed the passage of the vessel containing objects of worship that Bhōja-rāja sent to the sun, in token of his reverence to the latter".

P. 142 " verse 18, line 3-Instead of "the reservoir of fame and virtue" read "the abode of *yajus*, *i.e.* a student of the *Yajur-vēda*".

What has been narrated above with reference to the obstruction by Karikāla of the passage of the vessel containing objects of worship that Bhōja-rāja sent to the sun (p. 141, verse 10, lines 8 and 9) requires elucidation. For this Dr. N. Venkataramanayya's article in Telugu on "The Polavarti stone inscription of Karikāla" published in the *Bhāratī*,[1] and *Navacōḷa caritra*[2] by

1. *Bhāratī* (Telugu), Vibhava, puṣya, 1929, pp. 90-91.

2. Lingana Kavi, *Navacōḷa caritra*, (pub. Andhrapatrika Press, Mdaras, 1923), pp. 16-17.

Lingana Kavi are helpful. In both, the part of the hero is played by Karikāla. While, however, in the former the king who does worship to the sun is called, as in our plates of Bhakti-rāja Bhōja-rāja, in the latter he is known by the name of Bhāskara Cōḍa. The account found in the Doctor's article is more reliable than that found in the *Navacōḷa caritra,* being based on a stone inscription[3] of probably the 11th century A.D.

The story narrated in the "*Navacōḷacaritra*" being highly interesting, a short account of it is given below:—

While Karikāla was ruling the land there was a king called Bhāskara Cōḍa who was a great devotee of the sun. Every morning, about 10 A. M., he would worship the sun, get choice food served in 1,20,000 gold plates, and looking at the sun wave his hands upwards, offering them, as it were, to the deity. Immediately all the plates containing the offerings would mount up in the air and reach the sun, who would gladly partake of them. Then the plates would descend to the king. On account of the favour that the sun showed to the king by accepting his offerings, the latter got so conceited and puffed up with pride that he refused to obey the mandate of Karikāla, who sent to him his men asking him to help him in the task of erecting embankments for the river Kāvērī. His refusal was reported to Karikāla who once again demanded of him his obedience ere he would be forced to take steps to teach him to obey his command. But Bhāskara Cōḍa was stubborn saying that his own power and valour were unshakable inasmuch as he had the favour and support of the sun-god, who was daily accepting his offerings.

On hearing this, Karikāla sent a mandate to the sun-god as follows:—"You are hereby prohibited from accepting Bhāskara Cōḍa's offerings, as he has refused obedience to me, a devotee of Śiva." The sun-god preferred to do as Karikāla bade him, as he was loth to bring on his head the wrath of Śiva, whose devotee Karikāla happened to be. And on the next day, when Bhāskara Cōḍa sent his usual plates of offerings, they mounted up in the sky but were not accepted by the sun. Thereupon they descended down to the king who, on seeing that they were not accepted by his god, put up fervent prayers to him requesting him to accept them, and to let him know if he was guilty of any crime that prevented the god from showing him the usual favour. On

3. *Bhāratī* (Telugu), Vibhava, Māgha, 1929.

being told by the sun-god that his disobedience to Karikāla was the crime that he was guilty of and that unless he did as the latter bade him to do he (sun) would be forced to refuse his offerings, Bhāskara Cōḍa agreed to do so; thereupon the sun accepted the offerings. Bhāskara Cōḍa went to Karikāla with all humility and helped him in the latter's task. Karikāla received the convert with open arms and rewarded him suitably.

The account of this story found in Dr. Venkataramanayya's article "The Polavarti stone inscription of Karikāla" is as follows:—

4. *Bhōjapūjārghyapātrāṇi trīṇi Sūryārpitāni ca |*
Nijājñayāmbarasthāni cakrē taṁ dāsavan-nṛpam||

"The king (*i.e.* Karikāla) stopped the passage of three vessels containing offerings of worship dedicated to the sun-god by Bhōja, and by his command made them stay in the sky. (By doing so) he made him (Bhōja), as it were, his slave".

The latter account is more reliable than the former for two reasons:—

(1). It agrees with the account found in our plates of Bhakti-rāja. The name of the sun-worshipping king is given as Bhōja in both while in the *Navacōḷacaritra* he is styled a Cōḍa (Cōḷa) and is called *Bhāskara Cōḍa.*

(2). It is a stone inscription dating from the 11th century A.D.[2]. The *Navacōḷacaritra,* however, was written by Lingaṇa, a Telugu poet who lived in the latter half of the 15th century A.D[3].

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1. *Bhāratī*, puṣya, 1929, p. 91.
2. *Ibid.* p. 90.
3. Lingana, *Navacōḷa caritra,* (pub. Andhrapatrika Press, 1923) P. 4,

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE FIVE LAWS OF LIBRARY SCIENCE BY S. R. RANGANATHAN ESQ., M.A., L.T., F.L.A., Librarian, Madras University Library and Secretary, Madras Library Association. Published by the Madras Library Association. Demy 8 Vo. calico bound pp. i—xxxii + 1—458. Price Rs. 5.

This book has been published by the Madras Library Association as its Publication series No. 2 and as the first of a contemplated series of books on the technical and practical aspects of library work. The author, Mr. S. R. Ranganathan, is a trained expert in the subject of library science, having undergone special training in England in libraryship and made an intensive study of library work of all types by visits to libraries in various parts of England. As the librarian of the Madras University Library, he has harnessed to his task the knowledge he has so acquired. The Library "has developed in his hands wonderfully into a live human institution" with an increase in the issue of volumes from the library and a large influx of readers to it. It is, indeed, a very happy idea that the Madras Library Association, under the able and energetic guidance of its President, Mr. K. V. Krishnaswami Iyer, Advocate, Madras, should have chosen Mr. Ranganathan, to write this book. The history of the Library Movement in the various countries of the world, its progress and present condition, and the principles of the management and use of libraries have all been brought together under the title "The Five Laws of Library Science." As Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer says, "the author has a trained analytical intellect." According to him, the five laws are— books are for use ; books are for all ; every book its reader ; save the time of the reader ; the library is a growing organism. In his exposition of them, he has exhibited a wealth of learning, a mastery of detail, a fine sense of humour, and a polished style. Anybody who picks up this book for study may, at the outset, wonder how any person could manage to write a book of more than 400 pages on what may be considered a simple and recondite topic. To his agreeable surprise, however,

he will find that what appear to be simple propositions have until recently not been sufficiently realized by educated men in the management and use of libraries and that a good deal of special training and scientific instruction is involved in them. Above all, he will find it very interesting reading and will not like to close the book until he has perused it right through. This is, in fact, the highest compliment, that an author may lay claim to. Mr. Ranganathan has used the arts known to authors for the purpose of sustaining the interest of the reader. He often illustrates his statements by humourous anecdotes like the one about the application to the Readership in Mathematics by a graduate, at page 49 ; and he clothes certain of his conclusions in the garb of dialogues, such as the one we read at page 25 between "The Rule of Least Space" and "Rule of Least Cost" and the First Law ; and the one at page 237 between the Development Minister, the Finance Minister, the Director of Public Instruction, etc., in a departmental conference.

In India, where the percentage of literacy among its vast population is very small, the modern system of library science must be considered absolutely necessary, specially for the purpose of liquidating the large mass of ignorance by the establishment of rural libraries all over the country. The movement is in its infancy here ; but its progress is entirely due in the Madras Presidency to the propaganda and the organising work of the Madras Library Association. This book will easily be a standard treatise in the literature that is gathered by them for the propagation of the principles of library science among the educated public and for the enlightenment of the library staff.

We have great pleasure in congratulating the author on this nice and interesting volume, which has been so finely printed and got up by the Madras Law Journal Press. It contains a foreword by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer who has given expression to his appreciation of the book and of the author. It is, indeed, no small achievement to have earned the praise of one who is a great scholar and a discerning critic. It contains also a very interesting introduction by Mr. W. C. Berwick Sayers, Chief Librarian, Croydon, one of the masters of the science. One remark of his about this book is very noteworthy. He says, "It is unique, I believe, in that it attempts for the first time a comprehensive survey by a librarian, who has a peculiar Indian mind and reflects his own racial culture and basic theories of the

art of book distribution, as it is understood in the modern library world."

We hope and trust that Mr. Ranganathan will continue his labours and bring out many more works on the practical and scientific aspects of library work, which will enrich India's contribution to the literature on a world subject. The following Sanskrit verses composed by Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri enumerate the 'five laws' in a cryptic manner to be easy of remembrance.

"कोशवान् हि सदाचार्यः पञ्चसूत्रीपरायणः ।
पुस्तानि पठितुं[1] तानि सर्वेभ्यः[2] स्वंस्वमाप्नुयुः ॥
पठन्तं[3] समयं तस्य शेषेत् कोशः[4] सदापि च ।
वर्धमानः स चिन्मूर्तिः[5] पञ्चसूत्रीं विदन्त्विमाम् ॥"